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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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VAYNO DETAILS SUCCESS OF TWO-CANDIDATE ELECTIONS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by V. Belousov and V. Shirokov, PRAVDA special correspondents, the Estonian SSR, under the rubric "Party Life: Experiment in Restructuring": "You See Better"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The following figure was mentioned to us in Narva: 2,000. The development of democratic principles in the city's life, which is gathering strength, is behind it. In 2,000 cases (more accurately, even more than 2,000) the candidacies of managers intended for posts were discussed there in collectives. The discussion concerned brigade leaders, foremen, and shop chiefs and reached the director. The old director of the Baltiyets Plant left under conditions of a prolonged decline in rates. Last year's plan failed and January's indicator was deplorable. In the ministry the following question arose with all its acuteness: What are we waiting for?

Yet even yesterday they knew what they were waiting for: when the director would be 60 years old. However, humaneness for a person who no longer "fit the bill" was intolerably costly. Then the office of the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia received a telephone call from the minister: We ask that Chetvergov be returned to the plant.

Eight years ago Valeriy Ivanovich Chetvergov, secretary of the party committee at Baltiyets, was elected chairman of the city executive committee in Narva. During the last 5 years he has been first secretary of the city committee here. The secretary has prestige and is valued. In such cases the following answer to requests is given: "We ourselves need him." However, the Central Committee reacted with understanding to the telephone call from Moscow. Tallin answered: If Chetvergov himself is ready for such a step, we will let him go.

Valeriy Ivanovich gave his consent on the following condition: He would not like to be a director appointed from above. He will come forward as a candidate at Baltiyets and the collective will have its say.

On 13 February delegates to the trade-union conference at Baltiyets unanimously elected Chetvergov director. Naturally, the city immediately asked the following question: Who will be the first in the gorkom?

From a conversation with K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia:

"Five biographies written by objective persons, five candidacies lay all at once on my desk. All of them were proposed by Narva. This was an obvious hint: Look what a choice. Is it easy for one or two heads to determine accurately who is the most suitable and should one place all the responsibility for the choice on one's shoulders, no matter how broad they are? Nor could I fail to recall the fact that Narva was noted for its complaints about first secretaries. The first secretary was bound to be not to someone's taste. The following was secretly hidden behind such lines: People were not consulted...

"Yes, what is there to say: Matters concerning the selection of a raykom or gorkom secretary, indeed, were decided secretly, by a narrow circle. Either we did not have enough time for a more extensive discussion, or it was considered that the fewer people were initiated into such matters, the better. Apparently, the latter. The principle of democratic centralism operates in the party. No one has revoked it. However, where to place the emphasis is important. Practice has shown that we place the emphasis on centralism: We dictate, while you write and accept. As in the song: I see everything from above, just you know that.

"Yesterday this was accepted. When a brigade leader was appointed for workers, they were not asked about this. But in the same Narva after the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee elections of managers, big and small, became a daily phenomenon. The rank of elected managers also rose--as you see, up to the plant director. The following question inevitably arises: At what line will we stop in democratization? At a plant? At an association? Or should we go further?

"After the January Plenum I met with workers at the Electron Domestic Service Association. The longer we talked, the more strongly we felt: People now make note of every word uttered and of every promise given by the party. Once in a while, however, one read in their eyes: Is this so? Will there be several candidates? Will high posts also be entrusted to nonparty members? All this is unusual and seems not very realistic to some people. What can convince them? New words? Words were said. Real steps should give credence to what was said. Are we ready for them? No one will answer better than practice. No one. Realizing this, we turned to our practice of electing managers. Experience is available not only in Narva. For example, in Tartu, before nominating a candidate-deputy for the republic's Supreme Soviet, the collective of a house building combine named several colleagues and then made the final choice between two. These days the republic newspaper announced a contest for filling the position of a sovkhoz director instead of a well-known manager in Estonia, who was retiring.

"After this the following question addressed to us will hardly be fair: Have you not begun to elect the gorkom secretary according to the new method rather early? 'And when will it be not early?' I would ask in turn. Guaranteed coupons for such things are not printed or distributed. However, if one adheres to the principle of trust in people, will it be fair to deny the party aktiv its own decision as to whom to elect first secretary--this one or the other?"

This one or the other. This is the innovation. The post of party committee secretary was always elective. However, this problem was solved in one version.

Who was about to go through elections according to the new method? Vladimir Sergeyevich Malkovskiy, second secretary of the Narva Gorkom, and Oleg Ivanovich Belousov, secretary of the party committee at a furniture combine, whose family name was the same as that of one of us.

They have diplomas from the same institute--the Moscow Power Engineering Institute. However, they did not know each other at the institute. This was the result of their age difference. Belousov is 5 years older. Next, there is again a coincidence. They joined the party during the same year--1976. The year 1980 brought them to the Narva Gorkom. Belousov worked there as an instructor in the propaganda department and Malkovskiy came as an instructor to the organizational party work department. After 2 years they left their offices. True, Malkovskiy moved on his floor to manage the industrial transport department, while Belousov volunteered to rectify the situation at the furniture combine, where matters reached the point of a split in the collective. Under these conditions of civil dissension Oleg Ivanovich headed the combine's party organization. Participants in the previous gorkom plenum were able to judge how he coped with his task.

The report by party committee secretary Belousov was on the plenum's agenda. For a complete picture and objective conclusions it was decided to hold the plenum at the enterprise. Splitting into groups, gorkom members went through shops and became acquainted with low-level party organizations. Only after that did they gather in the hall. The speakers also drew attention to the fact that rank-and-file party members were rarely enlisted in the preparation of party meetings at the combine, that it was necessary to pay more attention to Komsomol members, and that furniture combine workers did not have quite enough brigades with cost accounting elements, but almost everyone noted: "There is something to learn here."

Participants in the plenum did not have time to note everything during their familiarization with the furniture combine, but everyone sensed the atmosphere of search, which could not but bring joy to second gorkom secretary Malkovskiy. Party organizations of industry and transport--this was the sphere of his attention. Now the names of second secretary and party committee secretary are supposed to appear on one leaflet.

Yes, this was also an innovation. Not only two candidates. Bulletins. Ballot boxes for voting.

Ayn Osvaldovich Soydlā, head of the organizational party work department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, also sat in the office of first secretary Chetvergov.

"And if someone asks to recall the instruction?" Chetvergov contemplated.

"Usually, people shout: 'We know!'" Soydlā tore himself away from his papers.

"And what if?"

"Then it should be stated openly: We are at variance with the instruction on elections in party organizations. Paragraph 16 in it states clearly: Gorkom and raykom secretaries are elected by open voting. But this is still experimental."

They prepared papers for the plenum. It seemed, what wisdom! However, there was no analogy on hand. The form could not be borrowed from old records. After all, people were not yet elected in such a way. But questions kept coming one after another: What is to be done if the votes are equal? And if not a single candidate picks up a majority? A second round? Can one of the candidates be admitted to it? These are not idle questions. Not in Narva, but in another place they will take on the features of a real case and it will be necessary to rush with answers. In fact, "confusion" with these candidates can also discourage the democratization of elections.

However, need one be afraid that an equal distribution of votes can be encountered in Narva now? The difference in the rank of the candidates is disturbing: second manager of an organization, where there are 7,000 party members, and secretary of a party committee, which has 225 party members. Can one talk about equal chances here?

"The fact that Malkovskiy is 35 years old, as compared to Belousov, who is 40 years old, is hardly a strong side of the second secretary," they reason with us. "Furthermore, Belousov worked in a group of Soviet specialists in Guinea. Finally, it should not be forgotten how he came to the furniture combine. He had to have courage to go into this turmoil. The fact that he quickly mastered the situation there is a good recommendation."

Possibly, however, some doubt also overcomes the people to whom we are talking. A decision to "declassify" Belousov's candidacy is adopted 5 hours before the plenum. Soydlā and Chetvergov arrive at the furniture combine. The party committee gathers. What will party members at the furniture combine say to the opinion that their secretary should be nominated to the post of first gorkom secretary?

The first reaction: "It is a pity!" It is a pity to let him go, because... The first, second, and fifth say... They explain why it is a pity to let him go, but with every explanation confirm: No, it was not accidental that their secretary was in the reserve for promotion. However, is he ready for such a step?

"Is a surety for another person needed?" A. Ovchinnikova, secretary of the shop party organization, asks.

"Probably, it is best to call this a recommendation," Chetvergov amplifies.

The decision of the party committee is unanimous: To recommend Oleg Ivanovich Belousov for election as the first secretary of the party gorkom.

And again we hear: "It is a pity!" We hear this at the meeting of the gorkom bureau. The word is hurled by Konstantin Ivanovich Senchugov, the oldest bureau member, director of the Estonian GRES.

"Both of them will not sleep today!" the director explains. "What are such tests for?"

The director is not joking. He already lost count of the first secretaries, for whom he had to vote. There was a recommendation of the Central Committee and he agreed with it, raising his hand. But now the same Central Committee recommends both. It shifts the final choice to you. Should good workers run against each other? Will this not affect subsequent relations between them?

The position is clear: Was it so bad when everything was decided behind closed doors?

"Do you think that in Tallin they know better who is more suitable for Narva?" said K. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee, who came there before the plenum. "We offer you your colleagues. Both are suitable to head the Narva organization. Next, we rely on your ability to judge by eye. You can see better."

And as far as insults and a sleepless night are concerned, he, first secretary of the Central Committee, sees not a winner and a loser, but two party members, who are given the honor to be candidates for the post of first secretary. One can be proud of this. This can be boldly written in one's autobiography.

"Modesty will not permit," someone says.

"Then we will all come to an agreement that this fact must be mentioned in one's personal file without fail. I don't say this as a consolation, but for a correct perception of what we will be doing now; of course, if the bureau is not against elections with two candidates."

The bureau is for it.

The plenum lets first secretary Chetvergov go to the plant with a bunch of carnations. Today, however, the departing secretary occupies the tribune longer than necessary to say thank you to those who have helped him in his work all these years. The bureau has instructed Valeriy Ivanovich to say a word about the candidates for the vacated post--both about Belousov and Malkovskiy. It believes that it will be more objective to receive a character reference from the same person.

It knew whom to instruct. One will not guess on whose side his own sympathies are. He weighed the merits giving reason to believe that the candidate "will draw," but then and there also their shortcomings, or rather, expressed a wish: One should acquire depth and the other should not spread himself thin.

"I cannot fail to talk about the interests of our candidates. I am convinced that, in addition to everything else, the party worker should be an interesting person. It is not appropriate to talk only about discipline, or labor productivity, with everyone everywhere. For example, Oleg Ivanovich reads French poets in their mother tongue and Vladimir Sergeyevich is irreplaceable in company with a guitar."

The tone is set. Look from all sides.

We listen to character references. Zoya Anatolyevna Myachina, chief technologist at the furniture combine, has just talked about how the party committee secretary prepared them for state acceptance. Suddenly, she caught her breath:

"Oleg Ivanovich is also a very decent person."

Valeriy Pavlovich Zinkovskiy, secretary of the party committee at a construction trust, has just talked about the second secretary: He has a good grasp of the problems. And then and there:

"I recall the following case: I attended courses together with Vladimir Sergeyevich. Courses are courses and a dormitory is a dormitory. There are no chiefs and subordinates here. Tongues are loosened. You should have seen how Malkovskiy put a lover of spicy jokes in his place. You know, over a cup of tea not everyone of us manifests his conviction."

Nevertheless, the ordinariness of the forthcoming makes itself felt. Now there will be voting and each of them will face an election very crucial and important for the city's fate. It turns out that democracy is difficult. It looks into your eyes demandingly: You yourself decide.

The first secretary of the republic Central Committee tries to relieve the growing tension with a joke:

"Do you have pencils with you? I bet you have already forgotten how to cross things out."

The chairman of the counting commission announces:

Belousov: 21 for; Malkovskiy: 36 for.

Everything was decided.

Not, not everything. The chairman draws the audience's attention to the following: Having elected Vladimir Sergeyevich Malkovskiy first secretary, the gorkom is now without the second secretary. What will we do?

A momentary silence. Then voices were heard from different corners of the hall:

"And what about Belousov?!"

Yes, more than three participants in the plenum found out that he was also ready for the first secretary. Where to go in search for the second secretary?

Now, by open voting Oleg Ivanovich Belousov is unanimously elected second secretary.

It remains for us to understand according to what criteria participants in the plenum have picked the one. We do not encroach on the secrecy of voting and will not begin to mention the names of the people we have talked to. We will share one repeated characteristic admission: "I had occasion to solve problems with Malkovskiy at work. I know how he solves them. Perhaps Belousov solves them not worse, but this is my assumption. I have not come in contact with him. Judge for yourselves, on what will I base myself? On knowledge or an assumption?"

It will hardly ever be possible to have the same knowledge about candidates, but it should not be contrastingly unequal. Otherwise, a comparison of personalities risks being replaced by a comparison of positions.

Oleg Gennadiyevich Klushin, general director of the Krengolmskaya Manufaktura Combine, was disturbed by another matter. He did not hide the fact that he found a considerable flaw in both candidates. They did not have experience in managing big collectives. But in a city, where even the newspaper is called NARVSKIY RABOCHIY, and for the time, when we begin to write the word "economy" with a capital letter, the gorkom needs a manager with good training as an administrator.

A man, who himself left the gorkom to become an administrator, began to dispute this. However, we want to dwell on his other considerations.

From V. I. Chetvergova's reflections:

"I am ready to agree: One could also talk more abrasively about the candidates. This would be only to their benefit. However, the caution with criticism should be understood. I myself racked my brains whether to say so and so about Malkovskiy. If he were the only candidate, there would be no question. I see him every day and I notice a great deal. But Belousov is far away. Naturally, some of his weaknesses bypassed me. What is to be done? Owing to my proximity to Malkovskiy, I can keep a tab on him, but not on Belousov. And what opinion will the audience form? Malkovskiy makes more mistakes. Yes? One begins to dole out criticism. Probably, other colleagues were also careful not to harm their candidate with a remark. A contest is not a joke.

"Now about the candidates' speeches. I had occasion to hear: Present your platform, present your program. What kind of a garden-city do you promise? Do we demand it? The platform of party members is known. Serious programs are not born in one week and you don't have more than a week before the plenum. For example, it suited me what our candidates talked about. Do you remember what Malkovskiy said? 'There is a gorkom line and I will implement it with all energy.' Or Belousov: 'To be especially sensitive to the new, not to be afraid of a risk, and to operate by the trial and error method.' This, if you wish, is an honest credo. If you are ready to take a risk with me, vote."

It is Saturday, but in the gorkom the telephone disturbs the silence now behind one door and now behind another. Who is bursting in here today?

"All right!" Inna Iokhanesovna Khokhlova, head of the general department, shouts into the receiver.

"All right!" she repeats to the second telephone call.

She explains: The telephone call was from Tartu and before that from Tallin and Rakvere. Everyone asks the same question: How did the plenum go?

From a conversation with K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia:

"I don't know whether you noticed that I even had to retort: This is secret voting! But people persisted: I will vote for Malkovskiy. I will be for Belousov. I am for Malkovskiy. However, this open position by the speakers impressed me. One sees right away that there is no need to fear an intrigue behind the scenes.

"I listened to people and I thought: We must go further. Why did hardly anyone in Narva know that the Central Committee placed Malkovskiy and Belousov in the reserve for promotion? Let them know this, let collectives look closely at 'reservists,' and, if necessary, remind them: 'What are you doing, dear comrade? Look at what is intended for you. What do you permit yourself?'

"How soon can we expect a new plenum with two candidates? Only yesterday I would have answered: We will not rush with this. But today I must say: Life itself urges us on. We will have to elect another first secretary. There was an opinion: A Central Committee worker should be recommended. Since he is our colleague, whom we know well and in whom we have confidence, we see no reason to hold elections with two candidates here. Do you know where the doubt came from? No, not the rayon protested, but our colleague himself announced: 'I don't want this, let there be also another.'

"You will say: Is he putting on airs? No, the man is ready to take a risk, but not to be guided by blind trust--raise his hands instantly and go away--but by a real election. During voting according to the old method, when all the votes are for him alone, it seems to him that he has missed something and

that in people's eyes he is not quite a full-fledged secretary now. You see what the Kemerovo example, and now the Narva example as well, the very spirit of democratization, are doing. We will value and consolidate this."

By that time a supplement to our talk appeared. The plenum of the Leninskiy Raykom was held in Tallin. Second secretary A. Ye. Dupik and V. A. Saluste, chairman of the rayon executive committee, were candidates for the post of first raykom secretary vacated earlier. V. Saluste was elected with a margin of five votes.

As you see, the consolidation was not late in coming. Another proof that what has been stated is not just vague words.

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GRAND PROMISES WIN OVER EXPERIENCE IN ENTERPRISE ELECTION

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by N. Goroshko, RABOCHAYA GAZETA correspondent, under the rubric "Signs of Reconstruction": "Despite the Prognoses"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] There were three candidates for the post of chief of the Zaporozhye Tram-Trolleybus Administration. The collective preferred the one who knew less than any of them. Why? Because.... No, you won't get a simple answer. We must recreate the events, compare opinions, and analyze the unexpected situation which arose during the elections, taking place in an explosive wave of emotion.

A young, likable-looking captain looks out of the 1945 photograph. On his breast are three orders and medals. It was the spring of the Victory. His wounds had knit, his whole life was ahead of him. He was 24. Among the portraits of veterans of the Great Patriotic War, this one is from that distant time when happiness was understood simply as the opportunity to live.

After the war, the fate of Pavel Yakovlevich Kostyukov was to work in creating the city's transportation network. For 20 years he was the chief of the Zaporozhye Tram-Trolleybus Administration. The minister took his opinion into account, and the main administration was sorry to see him go, although they understood--his age.

Pavel Yakovlevich left for his successor two tram depots and two trolleybus yards, new car-repair shops, 297 comfortable trams, with the old ones completely replaced by 1986, and 233 trolleybuses. In the city there were 11 tram routes with a total length of 237 kilometers, and 15 trolleybus routes with a length of 397 kilometers. Last year over 145 million passengers traveled by the city's electrical transport system. Three youth housing areas with 747 places were built, and one small-family housing area, a vacation base for 210 individuals in Berdyansk, dining rooms and health points in each depot and yard, a central medical point, and an exemplary dispatching office with a workers' canteen.

I am citing many figures. But they are necessary here in order to understand the situation properly.

Problems of the Zaporozhye Tram-Trolleybus Administration: nowhere to repair the trolleybuses, Tram Depot No 2 is in need of reconstruction, it is necessary to create a production base for a travel service and power plant. It is necessary to add at least 40 trolleybuses to the routes of the city. The housing question is urgent.

The approach to solving these problems, and even their very presence, largely determined people's attitude toward the candidates. We will introduce them.

Ochkalenko, Anatoliy Ivanovich--secretary of the party committee of the enterprise since 1973. He was born in 1937. He has worked as a molder, electrician, and electrical engineer. After graduating from the Kharkov Institute of Municipal Service Engineers, he worked as an engineer in a tram depot in Zaporozhye, technical engineer, and chief engineer. He has the reputation of a responsive individual and a good organizer. He has received state awards.

Shalashnyy, Viktor Yegorovich--chief of Trolleybus Yard No 2. He was born in 1941. He worked as an electrical repairman in a mine, and a foundry hand. After finishing the Kharkov Institute of Municipal Service Engineers, he became a foreman in a trolleybus yard. Then an engineer, technical engineer, senior foreman and senior technical engineer, and chief engineer of the tram depot in Zaporozhye. He is a CPSU member. He has been awarded the Certificate of Honor of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Residential-Municipal Services.

Mishchenko, Nikolay Vasilyevich--head of the industrial transport department of Zhovtnevy Raykom. He was born in 1944. He worked as a lathe operator, electrical repairman, senior designer, and chief of the wheel shop in Zaporozhye Electric-Transport Repair Plant. He graduated from the Rostov Institute of Railroad Transport Engineers. Since 1977 he has been involved in party work.

The biographies of the first two candidates are closely connected with the Tram-Trolleybus Administration. The third is that of an outsider, although, of course, he had been at the enterprise as the head of a department. At first it was decided that N. Mishchenko alone would be presented to the collective. But when meetings with him at the work sites began, people wanted to hear from the remaining candidates to lead the administration. And they themselves felt that N. Mishchenko had the advantage. The week of the "election campaign" began.

A. Ochkalenko, V. Shalashnyy, and N. Mishchenko spoke in the yards, depots, and sections. In the mornings, during the lunch break, even sometimes cutting into work time--they did not have enough time. Each candidate only met with people separately. That was the condition: when one man was speaking the other two could not be present for this. The speeches of A. Ochkalenko and V. Shalashnyy were skimpy. They did not paint any alluring pictures of the future. After briefly presenting their biographies, they spoke about current production tasks, about the difficulties in realizing the social program. "We will work. We will make decisions...."

How will you handle the construction of housing--through our own construction department?

"A difficult question. Supposing we find the people for this. Where are we going to get the construction materials? We will give help to the housing construction combine. In this way we will get additional housing."

Well understanding the situation, A. Ochkalenko and V. Shalashnyy were sincere but somewhat hesitant. N. Mishchenko behaved more confidently and rapidly entered into contact with people.

"How will I undertake to end the housing problem, if you elect me? Here are the ways: our own construction department, and a youth-housing cooperative. In it we will include all of those who want to master the construction specialty during the time that we are erecting the building."

"What do you say about the turnover of cadres?"

"I will stop the outflow of people. Anyone who wants to work overtime, we will give him the opportunity to work in his free time for himself. We will set it up so that women can buy groceries at the enterprise. Why walk a long way?"

"What will you do to improve transportation work in the city?"

N. Mishchenko drew up appealing happy endings for the transport system. He had already consulted with the railroad workers: the trolleybus runs could be extended (for a more rapid return trip) up to electric trains going to the Khortitskiy Housing Complex. Ten-15 minutes of travel--and you are where you need to go. People listened and wanted to believe it. What was unrealistic about it?

"It was all just hare-brained schemes!" Workers in the apparatus of the administration indignantly told me. "He did not take actual capabilities into account, and even more so the actual difficulties. Well, who would have let him pay for work during free time? The amount of overtime pay is limited by law. All of these happy endings for transportation were also a chimera."

There were opponents, too. Unfortunately, there were practically none of them during the time of the meetings, which were conducted on the principle of self-promotion. The competitors themselves could have been opponents, having the opportunity to criticize one another's pre-election "platforms." The working qualities of the candidates were not discussed either, as they were, for example, in the elections of chief physician of the oblast drug-addiction treatment dispensary.

There, people said in the presence of the candidates what they thought of each one, who was giving preference to whom and why. Of course, this is a small collective. How could everyone who wanted to speak out in the Zaporozhye Tram-Trolleybus Administration, where 3,000 people work? At first it was proposed to call a conference of representatives of the collectives. But one

of the sections protested. Everyone wanted to vote. Let everyone have their say. The rayon committee of the party agreed. Was this necessary? The question brought out varying points of view.

"A leader should be elected by the apparatus of the administration, beginning with the senior foreman. If he is 'their man,' they can judge him better than anyone. If he is from outside, even more so."

"The chief of the administration does not lead only the engineers; that means that they should not be the only ones to vote for him," the retort followed. Election areas were open from 6 to 18 o'clock. Each of the 2,634 individuals who voted received a ballot with the three last names. A voter was supposed to cross two of them off. Or--all three and write in his own candidate. People kept coming the entire day. Some of them said straight out who they had voted for.

"For Ochkalenko, of course. I work as an engineer in the motor vehicle transport shop," said Anna Dmitriyevna Pokhilova. "I have known Anatoliy Ivanovich since 1969. He is a good worker and a person with integrity. With him we will start going uphill, people respect him."

V. A. Gromak, mechanic in Tram Depot No 1: "I prefer Mishchenko. He came to us with a frank heart and a precise program. We liked his plans."

V. I. Sidorova, driver: "I have worked in the depot since 1957. I have known Ochkalenko for 20 years. He is a responsive individual. I would like for him to be the chief. And if it is someone else.... Well, let him work, as long as he does good things for people."

I. G. Byvalkevich, electrical repairman: "I voted for Mishchenko. He promised to organize young people's housing complexes and give us the opportunity to work overtime without having to go anywhere else."

A. N. Skripchenko, driver: "Yesterday I was stopped for the whole day. The vehicle was out of order. There are no spare parts. We take them off one vehicle and put them on another. All of us are for Mishchenko."

"Were you attracted by the things he promised?"

"Yes, we voted, you might say, for promises. But we believed in them."

"And what if he doesn't fulfill them?" I asked several people.

"We will revote."

Of course, democratization does not mean that we can want an election today and a recall election tomorrow. This kind of cadre policy, this kind of haste are of no use at all. But this categorical behavior is understandable. For a long time people had no voice. After all, for a long time they had had complaints against the leadership of the trolleybus yard which merely splashed away harmlessly. And there was nothing they could do. Now the question is being posed of releasing Comrade Chuprina, chief of the yard, from that

position. In the administration, incidentally, people knew that this leader was not fulfilling his obligations, but they did not want to hurt his feelings. They hurt the collective. Now this has come back to haunt them, and not only this. Talking with the workers of the enterprise I turned their attention to the fact that the people who had been in the Zaporozhye Tram-Trolleybus Administration for a long time, and especially those in the apparatus of the administration, were for A. Ochkalenko. Those who had worked for only a short time, and at a distance, were for N. Mishchenko. What was the reason for this?

There is a rapid turnover of cadres at the enterprise. New arrivals rapidly manage to sense its problems on top of them. And since they do not know what the leaders of the administration are thinking, and whether they are undertaking, as they should, to solve these problems, and what possibilities they have for doing this, then a certain distrust for them arises. The elections showed this.

Again and again Lenin's truth is confirmed: be closer to the masses, be more frank with them, consult with them more often. The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum confirmed the course for expanding the democratization of society, the import of which can be precisely defined: this is a revolution of hope. On a warm wave of these hopes the elections of the leader occurred.

N. V. Mishchenko was elected chief of the Tram-Trolleybus Administration with a lead of almost 1000 votes. All predictions and assumptions were disproved, no one had expected such an explosion.

"What will you start with?" I asked Nikolay Vasilyevich.

"After I am confirmed by the ministry, I will go to the people again. They, I was convinced, would have much to suggest, and they have already suggested things. I will turn for help to the former chief of the administration, Pavel Yakovlevich Kostyukov, and I have already spoken with him."

The procedure of elections is just being worked out. A draft of the Law Concerning the State Enterprise is being discussed which will take into account the suggestions of the working people. The initial practice of electing leaders is providing rich information to think about.

The opinion of Z. N. Kargiyev, president of the trade union of the enterprise, about this:

"Zhovtnevyy Raykom has watched over us for too long now. It made its mark in the ballot boxes. It even wanted to include its own representatives in the staff of the electoral commissions. Why this distrust?"

Head of the administration of the city's electrical transport of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Housing-Municipal Services G. P. Shcherbina:

"The new chief of the administration will be taking on, I believe, a pretty good organization. But the tasks facing him are serious. The first problem is to create a repair base. The second is that the tracks on the second

avenue of Zaporozhye are already in such a condition that they must either be closed or repaired immediately. We have allocated both the rails and the cross-ties for this. But I have not seen that the city has taken up the effort. Frankly speaking, I don't think that N. Mishchenko is the most appropriate candidate for the position of chief of the administration. I expected that the tram workers would elect one of their own."

And so it went. But it must be noted that all three men--A. Ochkalenko, V. Shalashnyy, and N. Mishchenko were on the reserve for promotion with the agreement of the main administration and the ministry. In the Tram-Trolleybus Administration, people were talking about the fact that the raykom "dragged in" N. Mishchenko, "its own" worker. And in the raykom people asserted: That is just why the procedure of the elections was put under such strict control, because "signals" were received that people in the Zaporozhye Tram-Trolleybus Administration were making attempts to install their own representative.

In my view, this confirms yet one more time how serious an attitude we should have toward the process of democratization. As for the attempt to influence the course of elections in one form or another--these, of course, are not ruled out. We must look at things realistically. In this case, I am convinced that it is not why the majority of the collective was on the side of N. Mishchenko. The reasons, as I have tried to show, were something different.

One more observation: It is true that you do not define competence by a vote. For this there are competitions, tests. A vote determines something different: whether people will accept this individual.

The person who was appointed to the position could not be bothered thinking about the trust of the collective. The person elected to the position cannot not think about this. It is difficult to repay this trust. But repay it he must. The collective of the administration and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Housing and Communal Services, for their part, are obligated to aid and promote this.

12255

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# MOSCOW RAYKOMS START REORGANIZATION EXPERIMENT

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 15-22 Mar 87 p 12

[Article by Yakov Borisov]

[Text]

**Four Moscow Party district committees are restructuring their staff by abolishing all their departments in March.**

NOT LONG ago Moscow Party district committees moved proposals on changing the structure of their staff. The Kalininsky, Krasnopresnensky, Sverdlovsky and Sovetsky districts are now going to test the reorganized structure in practice. All their departments, the posts of department heads and their assistants will be eliminated. It is expected that the change of the structure of the staff is to affect its activity and that the role of instructors and members of Party district committees and bureaus will increase.

What is expected of this experiment? Its main advantages should reveal themselves in due course. A real opportunity is being created to immediately and noticeably reduce the number of checkups, certificates, reports and other unnecessary papers.

The district committee staff will mainly consist of instructors who will now have to become versatile in their work with Party organizations of enterprises and institutions. Now they will not represent certain departments like before.

The general and financial-economic departments will be replaced by similar sectors. The Party registration sector will be

preserved. Some new sectors will be set up, among them those of personnel and economic analysis.

The new structure is the result of joint effort: it has combined all the best from the proposals of Party district committees. In general outline it is close to the structure widely discussed, in the period of preparations for the experiment, at the Sovetsky District Party Committee during get-togethers with the secretaries of Party organizations of enterprises, as well as at a meeting of the district committee staff.

It is noteworthy that the Party secretaries of enterprises and institutions resolutely backed the experiment. This is understandable because each instructor visiting a plant mostly tried to keep within the framework of his "department". If we can say so about a Party staff. For example, an instructor of the industrial and transport department looked into economic matters, Party organizational work was supervised by its own instructors, and there was another one for ideological work.

In assessing the new structure, the staff of the Sovetsky District Party Committee were not as unanimous as the secretaries of

Party organizations of enterprises. In some cases their age played a major part. Many of those who had worked at the Party district committee for ten years and longer were not so enthusiastic about the proposal to part with their specialization and become versatile experts.

Instructors will join the following groups: industry, research and design organizations dealing with building and transport. The setting up of personnel and economic analysis sections is noteworthy. The district committee staff is eager to get rid of formalism in shaping a reserve of personnel, in the special training and preparing of people for promotion.

It is no mere chance that the experiment in four Party district committees coincides in time with the discussion of the draft law on a state enterprise (association), with the strengthening of levers to control economic life, the emergence of the first cooperatives and hence the rapid growth of independence in work collectives. And as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed during his stay in Estonia, the Party bodies are playing a big role in the implementation of the resolutions of the January Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

/13046

CSO: 1812/204

GRISHKYAVICHUS, SOKOLOV SPEAK ON SOCIALIST COMPETITION

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Mar 87 p 2

[ELTA Report: "Along the Way of Fraternal Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Agreement on Socialist Competition Between the Working People of the Belorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR for 1987 is Signed

The program of economic and social development of the country which was adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress has opened up broad possibilities for the Soviet people to manifest labor and creative initiative. The program has been brought to life still further by the invigorating breeze of restructuring, and the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum have inspired us on to new efforts.

Socialist competition is a form of expressing the initiative of the masses which has been tested by life and confirmed by practice. The constant exchange of labor experience, the everyday collaboration to solve problems of economics, science, culture, and social life, and the striving to achieve are making it possible to accelerate further and better the movement forward, and bring people and nationalities still closer together.

This is proved by the continuing long years of socialist competition between the working people of the Belorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR, in which cities, rayons, hundreds of collectives, and tens of thousands of working people of both republics participate.

On 13 March in Vilnius, party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol activists participated in signing an agreement concerning socialist competition between the working people of the Belorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR for 1987.

The following comrades attended the ceremony of signing the agreement: P. Grishkyavichus, V. Astrauskas, Yu. Bernatavichus, A. Brazauskas, A. Kayryalis, V. Mikuchauskas, N. Mitkin, Yu. Petkyavichus, V. Sakalauskas, R. Songayla, A. Ferensas, L. Shepetis, P. Shileykis, V. Berezov, Yu. Sheris, an official of the CPSU Central Committee, N. Leonov, and other responsible party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers.

Those at the meeting greeted with applause the delegation from the Belorussian SSR, headed by First Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Ye. Sokolov.

First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee P. Grishkyavichus addressed the guests and others assembled.

#### The Speech of Comrade P. P. Grishkyavichus

Esteemed comrades! Today we have the pleasure of meeting with a delegation of Belorussian comrades headed by the First Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, Yefrem Yevseyevich Sokolov, which is here to sign an agreement concerning socialist competition between our republics.

Our meeting is occurring in the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was the turning point in the historical fates of the Lithuanian and Belorussian peoples. This lays a great responsibility on us.

It is worth noting that we are meeting with you in a period of active efforts to bring to life the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, at a time when crucial changes, revolutionary in nature, are occurring throughout the entire country. Every day convinces us of the persistence with which our party and its Leninist Central Committee are carrying on the struggle to ensure that the process of restructuring embraces the very deepest levels of our life and acquires still greater dimensions.

You already know that today we had a plenum of the Central Committee on questions of restructuring and the cadre policies of the party. At the meeting, we gave a principled, self-critical assessment of our activities, checked our endeavors and plans against the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and made note of new tasks.

Last year--the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan--demanded great efforts and persistent labor from us, just as from all the Soviet people. All of the plans we made for that year were basically fulfilled. But we were not able to achieve 100 percent fulfillment of our contract obligations. The plan to bring basic capital into operation was only 95 percent fulfilled. In this particular regard, we were let down by the ministries of local industry, motor vehicle transport and roads, municipal services, trade, construction materials industry, and light industry. The State Agricultural Committee did not fulfill the plan to produce grain and flax-fiber, and to produce winter crops, and it permitted a decrease in the average daily weight gain of cattle being fattened. Railroad workers were unable to cope with the plans for shipping certain types of loads. They underfulfilled targets for improving the use of rolling stock.

The results of work at the beginning of this year also attest that the positive shifts have not yet become a reliable trend. Many of the targets established for January and February of this year have not been fulfilled. In particular, republic industry has not managed to cope with plans in all basic economic indicators.

All of this convincingly testifies to the need for resolutely switching from conversations about restructuring to practical actions to implement it. This year should be a critical one for bringing to life the party's course toward accelerating social and economic development. We have reserves and possibilities for this.

We are sincerely happy about the successes of the working people of Soviet Belorussia in developing industrial and agricultural production. We know very well how much effort and energy you are putting in to secure high rates of growth of labor productivity, production of consumer goods, and successful resolution of many tasks in the social-cultural sphere. In this endeavor we too have definite achievements. But they could be more weighty if all labor collectives would more actively and with significantly more persistence wage the struggle to achieve high results, and would better copy the experience of our Belorussian friends.

Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that we have failed to fulfill one out of every four indicators determined by the agreement for 1986.

In industry, we did not succeed in bringing integrated mechanization and automation of production to the planned levels, nor was the output of consumer goods increased to the planned level. In agriculture, obligations to increase gross output in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other state farms were underfulfilled. We were also unable to obtain the planned yield of grain crops, flax fiber, and sugar beets. In construction, the planned growth in volumes of construction-assembly projects through increased labor productivity was not fully secured. Our transport workers also failed to keep their word in certain indicators.

This should be a serious lesson for the future. No indulgences should ever be permitted in the fulfillment of socialist obligations undertaken. An important role in this, in our view, should be played by socialist competition between Lithuania and Belorussia.

Practically all cities and rayons of Lithuania, all ministries and departments, and social organizations currently have agreements on competition with Belorussian partners. More than 800 labor collectives of the republic have already concluded such agreements. Useful business connections with related enterprises of Belorussia have been formed by Lithuanian machine builders, workers in light industry, energy, and many collectives of the agroindustrial complex. A number of scientific-research institutes are collaborating fruitfully. Over 20,000 workers, specialists, and employees of the republic are competing on the basis of individual contracts.

Our interrepublic competition has long since become an important incentive to progress in a number of spheres of social and economic life, and a powerful factor for strengthening the friendship of peoples. But there are many reserves for improving this work.

At the present time, not all the labor collectives of our republic properly appreciate the significance of expanding and intensifying this competition.

Elements of formalism and show have not been eliminated in all places. Many collectives and their trade union organizations have gotten used to the absence of any real contest between the partners in competition. This must not be tolerated.

Life urgently demands that we reorient the system of socialist competition toward indicators of quality, conservation of resources, and strict fulfillment of deliveries according to contracts. This will also set responsible tasks before the organizers of competition between our republics.

We must self-critically acknowledge that many republic organizations of Lithuania, including the Central Committee of the Communist Party, have still by no means done everything possible in this direction. They are not exerting an adequate influence on strengthening in the proper way business ties with partners in competition, or on accelerating the adoption of the latest techniques and advanced experience. Just one example. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers, republic ministries and departments, and the Lithuanian Republic Council of Trade Unions must raise this work to a qualitatively new level.

We are convinced that the agreement on socialist competition between our republics which we are signing today will have great significance and play an important role in strengthening the business connections of many labor collectives. This year of the current 5-year period will be the determining one, and its final results will depend to a great deal on how well we can organize our competition.

With all my heart let me wish you, and the entire fraternal Belorussian people, new successes in bringing to life the historical designs of the party, and good health and happiness.

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Then First Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Ye. Sokolov took the floor.

The Speech of Comrade Ye. Ye. Sokolov

Dear comrades! In the name of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR, and all the working people of the cities and villages of our republic, allow me to greet you wholeheartedly, and through you all the talented and industrious, hospitable people of Soviet Lithuania.

Our visit to you is pursuing two purposes at once. First, we would like to announce to our friends and good neighbors that the working people of Soviet Belorussia worked on fulfilling the agreement of socialist competition last year, with some successes and some failures. Second, together with you we will determine a new program for labor rivalry in the period of restructuring, in the period of acceleration of the social and economic development of our republic, more precisely, we will fix by this agreement specific levels toward

the achievement of which the activity of party organizations and labor collectives of Belorussia and Lithuania will be directed this year, the second year of the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Concluding an agreement on socialist competition between two fraternal republics in the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October has a special meaning, a special significance. As CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized in his speech at the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, 1987 will be a decisive year in many ways, for today, in essence, the fate of restructuring is being resolved, the foundation of acceleration is being laid.

The draft of the document which you and we will sign today gives reflection to the unified will of the working people of Lithuania and Belorussia to intensify restructuring, actively bring to life the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the resolve to redouble their contribution to strengthening the economic and defensive might of the multinational socialist motherland, and to observe the anniversary date with high achievements in labor.

The fraternal cooperation of our two republics has its own traditions, its own fruitful history. For many years now we have been attentively and interestedly studying the rich experience of our Lithuanian friends. And this is done not merely so that one leader or specialist or another can add to the baggage of his knowledge, can become, as they say, more enlightened. To adopt this experience, to use everything valuable which has been accumulated in your practice--this is how we see our task.

And today, when Lenin's Great Party has roused the entire Soviet people to restructuring, mutual enrichment with experience and broad use of the results of joint achievements will exert an ever greater effect on successfully bringing to life the strategic course of the CPSU toward acceleration of social and economic development.

The working people of our republic are striving to borrow from you modern approaches to rational use of labor, material, and financial resources.

We value highly and make widespread use of the experience accumulated by workers in the industry of fraternal Lithuania in technical reoutfitting of production, and increasing labor productivity and the quality of goods produced, especially consumer goods. Belorussian machine and instrument builders, textile workers and weavers, workers in the footwear industry, and chemists are actively adopting the innovations of their Lithuanian colleagues.

Fruitful links have been established between collectives of Minsk and Vilnius associations of the baking industry.

Agricultural workers of the two republics are cooperating closely. Agreements on competition have been concluded by 20 rural rayons and over 200 kolkhozes and sovkhoses, as well as 30 cities. Your experience in organizing intensive fattening of cattle, improving the pedigree qualities of animals, and raising the productivity of milk herds is instructive for our livestock raisers.

After all, the yields of milk in your republic exceed by more than 800 kilograms the analogous indicators of Belorussia. The standards of the cattle sold are higher and heavier. You produce more milk and meat per 100 hectares of agricultural lands than our republic. Our agrarians are learning from you how to improve the level of farming, strengthen the feeds base, and create highly productive pasture crops.

The experience of your builders, workers in transport, trade, and consumer service is finding a secure place in our republic.

For all of this we say from the bottom of our hearts: we thank you sincerely, dear friends!

For our part, we are glad to provide you with a constant and broad presentation of everything which is being suggested by our innovators and the leading workers of production, economic leaders and scientists, masters of culture, and figures in the arts.

I would like to inform you that the working people of Belorussia, like those of fraternal Lithuania, are stepping up their efforts in the struggle to fulfill the plans of the 12th Five-Year Plan.

A certain dynamism has been observed in the development of our republic's economy.

But there are still labor collectives which are failing to cope with targets in very important indicators, and in a number of points we have not so far succeeded in achieving the tempos called for by our obligations. Plans for the deliveries of goods according to contracts are not being completely fulfilled, and the quality of many goods is being improved too slowly.

The party organization of the republic is concentrating the efforts of the working people on more complete use of the potential which has been created, and unconditional fulfillment of the plans and obligations for this year and for the 5-year period as a whole.

There is no question that socialist competition between our republics, which we are prepared to expand and intensify, will help to better and more effectively resolve the tasks ahead of us.

Our common task is to raise the effectiveness of labor rivalry, and harness it, as the party demands, to resolving urgent and vital tasks, to make it the business of all working people interested in assimilating advanced experience and improving their work and themselves.

This still further heightens the role of socialist competition in people's spiritual enrichment and moral improvement, in educating them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and in accelerating our movement forward.

Let our fraternal friendship and comprehensive collaboration continue to be a reliable means of achieving new labor successes for the good of the socialist fatherland! Let fraternal Lithuania continue to flourish in our united family of Soviet peoples! Let joy and happiness reign in every one of your homes!

Good works and successes to you.

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Then the agreement was signed. In the name of the working people of the Belorussian SSR, it was signed by First Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Ye. Sokolov, Chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium G. Tarazevich, Chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers M. Kovalev, Chairman of the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions V. Goncharik, First Secretary of the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee V. Gurin, President of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences V. Platonov, milling machine operator in the Minsk Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin and Hero of Socialist Labor A. Goroshko, foreman of plasterers' brigade of the specialized administration of the Bobruysk Construction Trust No 13 of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Construction and holder of orders of Labor Glory of the Third Degree N. Petrenko, milking machine operator of the Luch Breeding Farm in Berezovskiy Rayon and holder of orders of Labor Glory of the Third Degree Ye. Yakushik, and chairman of Put k kommunizmu Kolkhoz in Grodnenskiy Rayon and Hero of Socialist Labor I. Senko. In the name of the working people of the Lithuanian SSR, the agreement was signed by First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee P. Grishkyavichus, Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium R. Songayla, Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Trade Union Council A. Verensas, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee A. Matsaytis, president of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences and Hero of Socialist Labor Yu. Pozhela, milling machine operator of the Vilnius Order of Labor Red Banner Electric Welding Equipment Plant and holder of orders of Labor Glory of the Second Degree and Order of the Friendship of Peoples V. Zhukovskiy, foreman of an integrated brigade of Specialized Administration of Finishing Jobs No 4 of Alitus Construction Trust of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Construction and holder of the Order of the October Revolution V. Saltanene, milker on an educational-experimental farm of the Lithuanian Agricultural Academy and holder of orders of Labor Glory of the Third Degree Ya. Zhyamaytene, and chairman of Ritu aushra Kolkhoz in Kedaynskiy Rayon and Hero of Socialist Labor G. Kretavichyus.

12255

CSO: 1800/475

GROSSU SPEECH TO MOLDAVIAN KOMSOMOL CONFERENCE

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 22 Feb 87 pp 2-3

[Speech by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, at the 20th Congress of the Moldavian Komsomol; capitalized words published in italics]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates!

This 20th Congress of our republic Komsomol has been convened at a notable time, a time when the course toward renewal and restructuring, toward acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development, a course developed by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, has become the pivotal point in the life of Soviet society. This has undoubtedly determined the nature and orientation of work by this highest forum of the Moldavian Komsomol and the content of the fundamental discussion which has taken place here.

The most important feature of this congress is the fact that it is taking place under the direct influence of the ideas and guidelines of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, an event of tremendous importance not only in terms of its political significance and decisive consequences, but also in terms of its spirit and the model demonstrated by it of a Leninist approach to consideration of the most vital, burning issues in party practice and all aspects of our society.

The plenum revealed in depth the causes and roots of the problems which have accumulated in the past, gave a thorough evaluation of the revolutionary transformations which are now occurring in our country and laid the groundwork for, in the words of M. S. Gorbachev, "...forging ahead along the path of acceleration, restructuring and improvement of our cadre policy..."

At the plenum it was confidently stated that restructuring is no longer merely an idea or an intention. Restructuring is a reality. It has the support of Soviet people, who connect it with their plans in life, the fate of our Motherland and her international authority and importance.

The people's powerful support for the party's policy has been concretely expressed by the positive changes achieved over the past year in our country's economic and social development, in its moral atmosphere, in operational style and methods. These changes are also observable in our republic. But today I must emphasize that we are only at the start of the road; the most important stage still lies ahead.

It is heartening to note that our republic Komsomol understands this, is not exaggerating our achievements and is evaluating the results of its own workcuttingly and self-critically. This present congress of the Moldavian Komsomol and the entire accounting and electoral campaign within the republic Komsomol organization are evidence of this. They have shown that young people do not want to live and work in the old way or put up with inertia and stagnation, that the Komsomol is resolutely opposed to various negative manifestations and is prepared to combat them urgently and energetically.

From this podium impartial criticism has been directed against unoriginal, excessively bureaucratic approaches by Komsomol organizations to work with young people. We have heard just demands that Komsomol organizations' forms and methods of operation be taken stock of again and repeatedly we have heard expressed the idea that the Komsomol should deal with those specific everyday, purely human issues which are of concern to young people. In a word, there has been discussion of restructuring, of ways to increase the Komsomol's authority, of a new way of perceiving its role in society.

Today our republic Komsomol organizations' primary task is to occupy the most advanced positions in the struggle to accelerate socioeconomic development. This applies most of all to the realm of industrial production. Over the past year we have succeeded in somewhat accelerating our rate of development in that area. However, each month a large number of enterprises failed to meet their planned technical and economic indices, and between seven and 19 percent did not meet their labor productivity goals. Yet a considerable portion of labor collectives are comprised of young workers who, unfortunately, by no means all have an equally responsible attitude toward their jobs. Also last year, 13,000 young men and women employed in industry and approximately 500 Komsomol young people's collectives did not fulfill their production plans.

These figures bespeak the fact that we need to increase the personal responsibility of young workers for the results of their labor, and that we must create in all places an atmosphere of intensive, creative work and step up the fight against shirkers and careless workers, against inertia and slipshod work.

Particular attention should be devoted to efficient utilization of labor and increased labor productivity. Toward this end the Komsomol should participate in the most active manner in job certification at enterprises, delve more deeply into those matters upon which increases in labor efficiency depend, and initiate the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization and work incentives.

Production quality is in need of careful attention by the Komsomol. In our republic steps are being taken to improve the quality of goods produced, but

thus far the results have been, to put it bluntly, exceedingly modest. I have already found it necessary to speak of the fact that refrigerators, televisions, washing machines, sewn and knitted goods, footwear and other goods produced by us are still poorer in quality than their foreign and best domestic counterparts. Furthermore, it is simply a fact that a large quantity of low-quality goods is being produced, and therefore complaints concerning poor quality have not decreased.

There are many reasons for this. But I would like to draw attention to one point: Komsomol organizations often approach the problem of quality in an episodic fashion, by launching campaigns. This is attested to by the fact that the multiple-skills young people's brigades which were created on the model of the Tiraspol garment workers and which functioned well at one time at the Zoril Production Association and at the Soroki and Bendery sewing factories, yielding excellent quality, were basically left to their own devices last year and did not yield the results expected of them.

Today the issue of production quality is being posed in a very acute fashion. Essentially, it is at the focus of all work to bring about restructuring and intensification of production. Radical measures are being taken, of which the most important are the transfer of enterprises to state acceptance of their finished products, introduction of cost accounting and other measures resulting from reform of the management mechanism.

Our republic Komsomol has a duty to take part actively in this work, to develop labor creativity in every way and to demonstrate greater persistence and, I would go so far as to say, obsession with regard to realization of its undertakings. It would probably be correct to carefully analyze the plusses and minuses of such organizational methods for promoting quality as Komsomol young people's collectives of high-quality labor, the creation of quality headquarters and quality posts, the conducting of vocational skills contests and competition for the right to produce work bearing the Komsomol guarantee of quality, and these methods should be applied more effectively.

The success of the strategy of acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development, teaches the party, is directly dependent upon whether or not we achieve acceleration of scientific and technical progress. In our republic there have been examples of enthusiastic, active participation by Komsomol members and other young people in the modernization of equipment and the introduction of new technologies and progressive know-how into production. At the Beltsy Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin 16 continuously operating creative youth collectives were created, "bottlenecks" in the production process brought to light and a contest for the best inventions and rationalizing proposals was held, all at the initiative of the plant Komsomol committee and with participation by the plants' leading experts. As a result, within one year a total of 123 proposals concerning ways to improve technical processes had been received and put into practice, yielding an economic effect of 44,000 rubles.

Unfortunately, the rationalizers' and inventors' movement had not become a mass movement either among urban or rural young people employed in production, although this was not the first year that this goal was set for the Komsomol.

Statisticians have calculated that in our republic only one young worker in 52 is involved in rationalization and invention. At some enterprises one could count the number of young workers submitting rationalizing proposals on one's fingers.

The contribution by our republic's young scientists and specialists to scientific and technical progress remains inadequate. Yet we have over 150,000 persons in this category of worker. One could say that today their tremendous creative and intellectual potential is not being put to its fullest use, has not been properly harnessed.

Generally speaking, comrades, our republic Komsomol must restructure itself more quickly with respect to matters pertaining to technical creativity, persistently inculcate in young people a desire not only to master new technology, but also to advance it. The Komsomol should ensure that participation by young people in scientific and technical progress becomes the norm in every labor collective, large or small.

It should also get actively involved in discussion of the USSR Law on State Enterprises, realization of which in combination with a complex of measures currently being implemented in the economic realm is creating a totally new economic situation.

Rural Komsomol members have major tasks ahead of them. The principal such task is to increase labor productivity in the agricultural sector of our economy. At a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in January of this year it was emphasized that the primary means of accomplishing this task is introduction of cost accounting and collective contracts and increases in the skills level of specialist cadres and workers in the mass professions.

Perfection of the management mechanism and improvement of work with cadres are interrelated issues. This was underscored at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The tasks of our republic party organization in light of the requirements set forth at that Plenum will be discussed at a special plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee.

Here at this Komsomol congress I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the question of how to supply the agricultural sector with young cadres is as acute as before. Over the past five years the number of people involved in agricultural production has decreased by 20,000. Currently there is a shortage of over 1,000 equipment operators alone at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Livestock breeding farms and complexes have only 90 percent of the staff which they require. With each passing year the number of Komsomol members among livestock breeders and equipment operators decreases. Of the total of 2,100 specialized livestock farms operating in our republic only one-fourth have set up young people's collectives.

A legitimate question arises: what are the reasons for this shortage of young workers in rural areas? The principal reasons may be found in the social realm. They include slowness in the provision of housing and services for young people and a serious lag in the development of social and cultural facilities in rural areas, as well as insufficient attention to improvement of

working conditions, especially in the livestock breeding sector. Among the causes of the continuing migration of young people to cities are serious shortcomings in the inculcation in young people of love for the land and the willingness and ability to work in rural areas.

All the aforementioned problems must be resolved simultaneously. And for that purpose it is essential that we more swiftly and thoroughly eradicate the so-called "leftover logic" which has become rooted in the minds of many administrators, and which treats social and cultural construction as a third-rate concern. The party is resolutely working to rid itself of such administrators. But the Komsomol as well must turn its attention to social problems and to the interests and needs of young people, demonstrate greater initiative and expand the extent of Komsomol influence.

Today everyone should realize that the current rate of construction of social and cultural facilities, housing in particular, cannot be regarded as satisfactory by anyone. It will only be possible to guarantee a steady flow of young people to rural areas if the volume of construction is doubled, young people's housing needs met and radical changes made in working conditions and labor organizations in the fields and at livestock farms. This task must be accomplished quite literally by everyone working together.

We should also carefully consider how it is possible, taking local conditions into account, to accelerate the provision of housing to young people in cities and urban-type settlements, including provision of housing through the construction of individual homes and houses for small families and through the creation of young people's housing cooperatives and complexes.

In some cities there has still not been any serious interest in the creation of young people's housing cooperatives; this important matter is simply being brushed aside. I must state today that we will not tolerate such attitudes toward the needs of young people.

Young people should become more broadly involved in housing construction. Their participation should be one of the specific affairs of Komsomol organizations in their work to implement the party's social plans.

The work of the Komsomol in the realm of physical production -- whether in industry, agriculture, capital construction, transportation or communications -- should be aimed at achieving end results. We have entered the second year of this five-year plan, a year which is to play a very important role in the realization of the party's course toward acceleration. We must reach higher frontiers in the economy, and it is very important that young people be oriented toward creative tension, toward intensive work.

Demanding guidelines for such work have already been outlined in our republic. They are our socialist obligations for 1987, which provide, among other things, that the goal for the first two years of this five-year plan in terms of production rates and labor productivity in industry will be met by 7 November, as will goals for the sale of grain, sunflower seeds, grapes, livestock, poultry, milk, eggs and wool to the state, for the completion of all planned social facilities, for the completion of all planned schools

during the first six months of this year, and for the completion of 40 percent of all planned housing and preschool facilities.

The struggle to realize plans and obligations, to greet the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution in a fitting manner, is the main order of the day. Because, as M. S. Gorbachev emphasized at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the success of the entire five-year plan, our most important undertakings and fulfillment of long-range plans will depend upon how we work today.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian CP appeals to you and our entire republic Komsomol to labor selflessly, to work painstakingly and ambitiously to achieve our planned goals, to take specific action at every workplace and in every labor collective.

Economic intensification also requires intensive methods in the training and retraining of cadres. This applies above all to the work of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. At the present time there are approximately 70,000 students in our republic. Unfortunately, only 39 percent of them are receiving grades of "good" or "excellent." Over one-half, 61 percent, to be exact, are "C" students. Furthermore, by no means all future specialists are vocationally prepared for work under conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress or possess civic maturity and the ability to apply non-standard, innovative solutions to production problems and to organizational and ideological/educational work.

To the above I should add that at educational institutions there continue to occur such negative phenomena as a consumption-oriented attitude toward life, apolitical views, drunkenness and hooliganism, on which subject much has already been said at this congress.

The reasons for this situation are diverse. I will mention only a few of them. Firstly, experience has shown that traditional forms and means of vocational orientation for young people are no longer capable of accomplishing today's tasks. A single fact is sufficient testimony to this: whereas on the whole throughout our republic competition for academic admission has remained stable at somewhat more than two individuals per opening, in certain fields the rate of competition is barely one individual per opening. What is more, quite a few young men and women are selecting VUZ's not by vocation, but rather for the sake of financial security [korochni].

Secondly, at many educational institutions an atmosphere of indifference and tolerance toward those who study halfheartedly has been created. It is not students who are made responsible for the quality of their knowledge, but rather their instructors. This gives rise to the faulty practice of chasing after high pass rates and in general leads to false grading.

Thirdly, the faculty of professors and instructors is working in a seriously inadequate manner with respect to both the teaching and upbringing of students. Active forms of instruction are being introduced too slowly and independent, individualized work by students, including research work, is underemphasized. In a number of places social science departments have not

yet become true centers for the ideological, theoretical and all-round social life of student collectives. Some instructors are too slow to get rid of old working methods and are continuing to avoid unpleasant issues and questions which are of concern to students.

How to rid ourselves of these and other shortcomings in the training of specialists? The primary means is restructuring and radical renewal of the operations of VUZs and tekhnikums. The reforms carried out in accordance with the "Basic Directions for Restructuring of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the USSR" are intended to ensure not only intensification of cadres' general scientific and vocational training, but also to bring about fundamental improvement in the utilization of specialists in the national economy, an increase in the efficiency of VUZ science and reinforcement of higher schools' material and technical base.

Restructuring requires radical changes in the functioning of the VUZ-level Komsomol and all-round development of student self-government. We as communists are convinced that our students are sufficiently conscientious and responsible to play a much more serious role in the educational process than is currently the case. Is this not attested to by the experience of organizing student labor brigades, which have become a wonderful school of self-government? Unfortunately, the operational principles of these units are being transferred only slowly and laboriously into the everyday practice of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions.

Party organizations and the Komsomol must develop student self-government in every possible way. Student self-government should not be limited to matters pertaining to students' domestic affairs and leisure activities, but rather should be extended to encompass all aspects of the functioning of educational institutions and should raise the level of students' responsibility for their concerns and actions. The forms of this self-government will become effective when they grow out of VUZs' actual experience, include an innovative approach to problems, take students' interests into consideration and conform to our lofty ideals.

The above also applies to Komsomol organizations in the mass schools and vocational and technical schools in our republic. I am forced to admit that a number of such organizations have lost their authority with students. This has occurred primarily on account of a lack of real, significant activities and of the substitution for socially useful activity of an imitation thereof.

Of course, there have also been examples of correctly conducted Komsomol work in schools. These examples deserve approbation and emulation. For instance, Secondary School #25 has been brought to my attention; there an atmosphere of creativity, independence and mutual exactingness prevails among Komsomol members, who have been brought up in a spirit of great responsibility as part of belonging to a sociopolitical young people's organization.

One of the "sore points" with regard to the school-level Komsomol and the Pioneers is formalism and the dominance of mass events: there take place all manner of assemblies and special weeks and months. Each of these actions, it would seem, pursues a laudable goal. Yet taken together, and with

participation in them being made mandatory, they have bound schools hand and foot, deprived children of all initiative and levelled out, dissolved in the greater mass, the uniqueness and individual spirit of each school. This is why today the matter of how to sharply curtail events initiated "from above" is an urgent one.

But we must not simply replace everything out of hand, because a great deal which is of value has also been accumulated. I am convinced that we need fewer yet more brilliant and meaningful actions, actions which are predicated by life itself and do not follow one another in an endless succession. The most important thing is to give schools themselves and their Komsomol organizations and Pioneer troops the right to decide what is suitable for them and what is not, depending upon their special local conditions and social milieu, and depending upon the interests of the children themselves, the unique pedagogical "signature" of Pioneer leaders and teachers and the level of development of an individual collective. That is to say, upon everything which comprises the concept of a school's "personality."

Our further progress will be accompanied by an increase in the demands on the individual and on him or her to improve in an ethical sense. In the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Party Congress it was stated that the future will to a large extent be determined by how well we raise our young people today. This is a task for the entire party and people. This is the most important, most fundamental task of the Leninist Komsomol.

On the whole the political mood and moral health of young people is heartening to us, the members of the older generation. However, I would like to note that Komsomol organizations which are involved in the education of young people should always keep sight of the fact that we are living in a world characterized by a constant struggle between two ideologies, and that they must work in a flexible and aggressive manner, inculcating in young people firm Marxist-Leninist convictions and the ability to evaluate all social phenomena from a class-oriented standpoint.

In this connection we can well understand the concern expressed at the party congress both by the principal speaker and by other speakers with regard to the state of Komsomol political education and current shortcomings in the ideological and theoretical upbringing of young people. I would like to share with you some observations and ideas. Perhaps the most significant shortcoming in political education for young people lies in the fact that such education is primarily focused on rote learning of theory rather than on the development of firm convictions or on teaching young people how to make the correct choice in their personal behavior. Sometimes we see how, when pondering some ambiguous phenomenon, a young person searches through his or her knowledge like a key ring full of keys which open nothing. That young person lacks the ability to apply "book knowledge" to real-life situations.

We must also be quicker to eliminate another, similar shortcoming. It is essential that we ensure that the political education of young people will result in their practical application of the knowledge thus acquired in real life. Examples of places where this is the norm do exist. Particularly deserving of approbation is an undertaking by Komsomol committees at the Mezon

Plant and the Plodselmash Production Association. These committees have succeeded in subordinating the entire organization of political education to the task of improving the quality of the goods produced by their enterprises. Thereby political education at those enterprises has acquired a definite sense of purpose and has become efficient and effective.

Political instruction should be conducted on a qualitatively new level. It is time that we advance from political literacy to instruction in political culture and raise the level of classroom discussion from the political ABC's to practical mastery of Marxist-Leninist methodology for social analysis and prediction. This is the level of theoretical training which today's young person should master.

We must comprehensively intensify ideological and political influence on young people. The most effective means of doing so are active, ongoing dialogue with young people on the most urgent modern-day problems, and truthful, open, extremely frank and serious discussion with young people without condescension on account of age, basing this discussion on real-life experiences. A good example of this has been set by the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Its dialogues with its readers should be extended to a youthful audience at enterprises, farms, organizations and institutions in our republic, augmenting those dialogues with specific materials, phenomena and incidents of a local nature.

The Komsomol aktiv should not be afraid of discussions, including those which deal with such topics as the so-called informal youth groups, toward which attitudes in our society are often diametrically opposed, ranging from enthusiastic to extremely negative. It is important that we define the reasons which prompt some young people to join an "independent movement," see the shortcomings in the work of Komsomol organizations as well as the excessive regimentation, formalism, red tape and boredom which are flourishing in a number of places, and then take the appropriate actions in response.

Internationalist education is in serious need of improvement. Our young people have been and remain internationalist in spirit. On that score nothing has changed. But we must not underestimate attempts by modern bourgeois propaganda to have a negative effect on our young people, to incite nationalism and sow discord among Soviet peoples. In numerous works published abroad and in broadcasts by anti-Soviet radio stations there is systematic distortion of the history of Moldavia, the role of Russia in the liberation of our land from the yoke of the Ottoman Empire and the achievements of our republic's working people within the fraternal family of Soviet peoples.

Some young people, as a result of political immaturity and a lack of experience and ability to properly interpret conformances to law in the development of nations and ethnic relations, are yielding to hostile propaganda and creeping back to nationalist positions. There have been instances of this at the polytechnical institute, the state university and the physical education tekhnikum, among creative circles of young people and in a number of other places.

But we cannot explain the causes of manifestations of nationalism on the part of some people merely by citing the influence of bourgeois propaganda; we also should mention such causes as divergence between words and actions, contradictions in the development of present-day society, social distortions and some others. Therefore it is impermissible to take an overly simplified attitude toward internationalist education or to let this large and significant task be reduced to a single action: the creation of international friendship clubs.

I do not wish to belittle the significance of such clubs. In a number of places, in Beltsy, for example, they have done good work. But we must not limit ourselves to the clubs. We need thoughtful, ongoing work by party and Soviet organs, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations, work which would encompass the various aspects of ethnic relations. As noted in the new redaction of the CPSU Program, we should work persistently to ensure that each Soviet individual has an inherent "...intolerance toward manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, ethnic restrictions and ethnic egoism..." At the same time we also must consistently explain that traditionalism and efforts to shut oneself off within the bounds of one's own national culture inevitably lead to provincialism and cause peoples to lag behind in the flow of history.

Hostile propaganda assigns to religion a very important role in the ideological struggle, and with the aid of religion anticommunist centers are attempting to sow idealistic views in the minds of young people and incite ethnic discord.

In recent years activities by religious elements aimed at recruiting young people for membership in illegal religious sects have been stepped up in Moldavia. Attempts are being made to organize gatherings of young sect members under the guise of weddings and farewell parties for inductees in the Soviet Army and to time these gatherings to coincide with religious holidays.

Clericalists have now begun to take advantage of preparations for the 2000th anniversary of Christianity and the 1000th anniversary of the "Christianizing of Russia."

These circumstances oblige us to step up atheistic work substantially. Komsomol activists should be more thoroughly familiar with the sentiments of various sociodemographic groups of young people in areas of active work by clericalists and church members, better utilize individualized forms of work with believers in labor collectives, at their places of residence and especially in families, and skillfully counter church rituals with our own Soviet rituals.

The present international situation requires improved training of young people for service in the Armed Forces and improved military vocational orientation. In this connection I would like to mention several points. Thus far the internationalist soldiers who have fought in Afghanistan, whose experience of political and military tempering is truly invaluable, have remained unorganized, have not been brought together in a unified council. Komsomol committees are not doing enough to get these individuals involved in

ideological educational work. Yet these young men stand out among their peers on account of their more acute sense of social justice, strict intolerance of any deviations from the standards of communist morality and thirst for active civic work. And it is important that their energy be channeled in the proper direction. At the same time it is essential that attention be devoted to ensuring that reservists be the subject of daily attention by Komsomol committees in terms of solving their social and day-to-day problems.

And a second point. It is very important to constantly involve veterans of war and labor in the upbringing of the younger generation, because these veterans have tremendous experience and are concerned over and intolerant toward shortcomings.

The primary point of orientation in educational work should be the communist moral ideal. We must strive to ensure that it becomes every young person's highest goal.

Activation of the human factor is inconceivable without a resolute struggle against the antipodes of communist morality. At the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Moldavia was listed among those regions in which negative processes in connection with degeneration of cadres and violations of socialist legality have taken on extremely monstrous forms. At issue is the widespread nature of such socially dangerous phenomena as embezzlement of socialist property, acceptance of bribes, padding of accounts, violation of state and party discipline, etc.

This is not the first month that a struggle against all of this scum has been underway in our republic. It has been stepped up in particular since the 4th Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, which discussed the tasks of our republic party organization in the wake of a certain CPSU Central Committee resolution. A good bit of time has already passed, however, quite honestly, this ill is being eradicated only slowly. The main reason for this lies in the fact that in many labor collectives nothing more than propagandistic, explanatory measures have been undertaken. This is especially true with regard to account padding.

Many Komsomol organizations have not made a good showing in the struggle to eliminate account padding and other types of false reporting. They often lack the resolve to oppose established accounting practices by collectives which are harmful, if not downright anti-state, and which lead to overt or concealed padding of accounts.

Our republic CP Central Committee hopes that Komsomol members, who have always been characterized by such traits as honesty, frankness and a great sense of duty, will at this time as well be in the front ranks of the uncompromising opponents of padding of accounts, false reporting and fraud against the state.

The Komsomol's stance on drinking and alcoholism should be equally uncompromising. Thus far no major results in the struggle against this evil have been achieved in our republic. Whereas consumption of state-produced

alcohol and vodka is decreasing, homemade alcoholic beverages are becoming ever more widespread. The number of alcoholics has virtually not decreased at all. Drinking is merely occurring at home rather than in public.

It is a cause for serious concern that some young people are using drugs. This group includes some individuals enrolled in the vocational and technical educational system. Komsomol committees must, in conjunction with internal affairs, health care, educational/vocational and technical educational organs, undertake broad-scale work among young people to explain the vicious nature of narcotics and to uncover and prevent instances of young people and teenagers experimenting with drugs.

In order to achieve a sharp turnaround in the struggle against antisocialist manifestations, Komsomol organizations should have a complete mastery of the field of young people's leisure time. Quite a lot has been said at this congress concerning the need for an innovative approach in this area. I would like to draw attention to just one aspect of this matter, the fact that the Komsomol is utilizing the opportunities presented by creative young people poorly. With respect to young writers, journalists, cinematographers, composers and artists Komsomol organs have taken, to put it mildly, a stance inclined toward either temporising or consumerism (*potrebiteľstvo*) with regard to these individuals. Of course, workers in the creative fields should also demonstrate initiative and a spontaneous desire to be in contact with young people. But this need for contact with art and literature should also be felt by those for whom artists create their works. Who should help combine these two needs for contact? The answer is clear: the Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms of the Komsomol and the secretaries of Komsomol organizations. But in order for this work to be carried out skillfully, rather than as a mere formality, Komsomol leaders must themselves demonstrate an enthusiastic attitude toward art and literature and develop their own need to attend theatrical performances, concerts and exhibitions, meet with young masters of art or participate in discussions by workers in the creative fields, and only then inculcate this need in the broad masses of young people.

The new orientation of the Komsomol's work under conditions of restructuring assumes a need to change organizational relationships and improve the style and methods of Komsomol committees' operations at various levels. Currently, much is changing for the better in this respect, at least on the surface, yet behind the abundance of measures being taken no unified direction or purpose in these organizational innovations is in evidence. Yet such a course does exist; it was drawn up by the 27th CPSU Congress and reaffirmed at the January Central Committee Plenum. It states that restructuring is possible only through democracy and as a result of democracy. As applied to the Komsomol, this means expanding the limits of independence, self-guided activities and self-administration on the part of primary organizations and of all Komsomol organs, "...without complete independence," wrote V. I. Lenin, "young people CANNOT... prepare themselves to carry socialism FORWARD."

Today our republic Komsomol organs are at the very beginning of restructuring. A start seems to have been made, but instead of progressing they are going around in circles. The main reason for this is the fact that they have not yet overcome the contradictions between the profoundly democratic nature of

their organization and bureaucratic administrative methods, between young people's attraction to everything which is new and progressive and petrification of operational forms. In a number of places an old style of operations has been given new trappings, and old methods of operation are being adorned with new terminology. Papers bearing appeals and directives continue to stream forth. It is not surprising that even according to the republic Komsomol Central Committee's data one in six of the resolutions which it has adopted over the past two years has not been put into practice.

In the work of the Komsomol's central committee, gorkoms and raykoms one does not sense an effort to concentrate on practical work with young people in labor collectives, to place more reliance on primary Komsomol organizations. Even during the accounting and electoral campaign staff members of our republic Komsomol Central Committee visited only three assemblies of Komsomol groups and 33 assemblies of shop-level Komsomol organizations, and one-half of those visits were in the city of Kishinev.

Staff members in the Komsomol apparatus do not want to be bothered with long trips and are more concerned with preparations for assemblies of representatives and incidental decisions than with practical work with young people; they are insufficiently familiar with what is happening at the local level and are not quick enough to note and apply innovations in the work of the best Komsomol organizations.

The Komsomol Central Committee Secretariat has proven slow in finding solutions to pressing problems, makes too few demands on its apparatus and has little influence on the creation of an atmosphere of creativity and genuinely Komsomol-like comradeship in relations between the staff of Central Committee divisions and Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms.

The restructuring currently underway in the Komsomol makes attention to the individual and concern for the individual primary issues. However, we should note that many Komsomol committees have avoided finding solutions to those specific everyday problems which concern young people and have made poor use of their rights to resolve problems pertaining to the professional growth of young workers, housing distribution, enrollment of children in preschool facilities, expenditure of state funds for leisure time activities, and so on.

It is extremely seldom that young people's problems are considered by party raykoms and gorkoms at the initiative of Komsomol committees. The Central Committee of our republic Komsomol is also not setting a vigorous example in this respect.

The Buro and Secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee must more quickly rid themselves of anything which hinders restructuring, and they must decisively renounce trite, stereotypical approaches to work with young people and the practice of evaluating the state of affairs in Komsomol organizations according to the quantity of measures undertaken and initiatives conceived. What is required is a fundamental change not only in the style but also in the substance of their work. That work should be oriented toward achievement of end results.

The focus of all organizational and political educational work by Komsomol committees should be transferred to those places where the fate of the acceleration program is being decided. In saying this, I would like to warn you against an oversimplified perception of this task, and warn you not to carry it out through mechanical increases in the number of local visits by Komsomol staff members. Each shop-level Komsomol organization and Komsomol groups must be reached individually; it must be known what concerns Komsomol members, how their efforts are succeeding, in what areas they are having difficulties and what sort of assistance they require.

Komsomol organs must increase the degree of group decision-making in their work. As analysis has shown, half of the members of our republic Komsomol Central Committee have not during the course of their membership in that body had an opportunity to take part in debate, have not expressed any opinions and have not made a single critical comment or practical proposal. There has probably been no need for them to speak; what good would it do?

We must persistently work to ensure that every Komsomol committee acts as a genuine generator of ideas and organizer of interaction between all forces, and is able to correlate those forces correctly. This is only possible if a normal businesslike, creative atmosphere is created, if the groundwork for amicable work by all members of Komsomol boards is laid.

One bottleneck in the operations of the Komsomol's Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms is work with the cadre reserve. Hence a high turnover rate, lack of proper procedure for succession and lengthy vacancies. Each year the rate of turnover for secretaries of primary Komsomol organizations is approximately 40 percent, and this figure is over 60 percent for heads of gorkom and raykom sections. Over the past two years the amount of time posts remained vacant throughout our republic Komsomol organization totalled approximately 11,000 days. This is equivalent to three Komsomol raykoms ceasing operations completely during this period.

We must grant greater independence to Komsomol organizations with respect to resolving cadre matters, especially at the primary level, and cease strictly regimenting the composition of cadres and the aktiv. Discussion of candidates nominated for Komsomol work should be open, and the collective's opinion final.

In all its restructuring work the Komsomol should be rendered all necessary assistance by party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations. However, we should not allow petty tutelage, didacticism and undemocratic rule to develop, as has often been the case. Basic guidelines for party guidance of the Komsomol were clearly outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress. Following these guidelines is a highly important obligation of our republic party organization.

To conclude our conversation today, I would like to return once again to words which were said at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "We want to transform our country into the model of a highly developed state, into a society with the most advanced economy, the broadest democracy, the most humane and loftiest morals, where the worker will feel himself truly the

master and can enjoy all the benefits of material and spiritual culture, where his children's future is secure, where he will have at his disposal everything required for a full and meaningful life." For the sake of all this, comrades, it is worthwhile to labor with redoubled energy, complete dedication and creative inspiration.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party expresses its firm conviction that Komsomol members and all the young people of our republic will, together with the party and the people, advance firmly and persistently toward this lofty goal.

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CSO: 1800/405

ARMENIAN CP BURO NOTES FAULTS IN INFANT, MATERNAL HEALTH CARE

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 13 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Armenian CP Central Committee Buro has been examining the work of the ArSSR Ministry of Health in the field of long-term health care for our population.

The decree on this problem notes that the republic is making a definite effort to implement Party and government decrees aimed at further improving the health care of our population. We have expanded our network of health care institutions and have consolidated their material and technical base. These facilities have been outfitted with state-of-the-art equipment, and have been brought up to full strength with doctors and mid-level medical employees. Positive gains have been made in some basic health-care indicators. The overall incidence of disease and the death rate for the population has been reduced.

At the same time it was emphasized that the degree to which medical care is provided within the republic does not yet fully meet the present-day needs and increasing demands of our people.

The republican Ministry of Health (Minister: Comrade E. S. Gabriyelyan), and its local agencies are showing signs of sluggishness in carrying out the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress to reorganize their style and methods of health-care administration radically and have failed to draw the proper conclusions from the criticism levelled at them at the 28th Armenian CP Congress. The practice of vital organizing work being surreptitiously replaced by innumerable orders and decisions and the compilation of various health certificates, reports and bureaucratic correspondence, still persists.

The ministry is not taking the measures needed to improve radically the quality of general health and preventive medical help for the adult population, to maintain the health of very young children and to reduce infant mortality and is not displaying the required high-minded and exacting attitude in eliminating serious violations of sanitation and hygienic standards and regulations in our medical institutions. What we have here are violations of labor discipline and an inattentive and coldhearted attitude towards the

ailing, abuse of their official positions on the part of doctors, as well as speculation in scarce medicines, bribery and extortion.

The Ministry of Health, ispolkoms of city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies and economic organizations are not placing enough emphasis on developing the network of general health and preventive medical facilities, and have reconciled themselves to lags in their material and technical base.

The Bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee very forcefully pointed out the serious shortcomings and derelictions of ArSSR Minister of Health Comrade E. S. Gabraielyan concerning the medical care provided for the people of this republic.

Deputy Minister of Health and CPSU Member Comrade G. M. Arutyunyan was severely reprimanded for serious flaws and derelictions in the organization of general health and preventive medical aid for the population and for his poor supervision of the work of the outpatient polyclinics.

Deputy Minister of Health and CPSU Member Comrade L. N. Muradyan was seriously reprimanded for serious shortcomings and oversights in the operation of maternity and children's medical facilities, for not demanding enough from the managers of these facilities and for inconsistency in finding long-overdue solutions to problems related to maternity and child health care.

The ministry staff's party organization has entrusted Comrade A. S. Khachatryan with making party members and all staff employees more responsible for carrying out party and government directives on questions of health care for the population, with strengthening party, state and executive discipline and with setting up a situation characterized by strict demand and mutual exactingness.

It has been suggested that the ArSSR Council of Ministers, executive committees of city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies take additional measures to consolidate the health care sector's material and technical base, that they implement strict supervision to see that the 12th Five-Year Plan targets for constructing and putting health care facilities into operation are met.

The Ministry of Health, party gorkoms and raykoms and the medical facilities' primary party organizations need to improve the selection, education and distribution of the labor force, to take strict steps for party and administrative action relative to agency directors and health-care facilities and medical employees guilty of allowing serious shortcomings in the setting up of medical aid to the population, and need to wage a resolute struggle against bribery, extortion and other negative phenomena.

The Bureau of the Central Committee has outlined measures aimed at eradicating serious flaws in early childhood health care and reduce our levels of infant mortality.

In this context, the Armenian CP Central Committee has adopted a decree by which they plan to take decisive measures aimed at the grass-roots improvement of medical assistance for pregnant women and young children, to eliminate flaws in the establishment of care for newborn babies, in premature births and in the hospitalization of children who have taken ill. The decree is also aimed at introducing the results of scientific research into our health care practice quickly and effectively.

The ministry staff leadership and party organization have been charged with reorganizing the style and working methods, and with taking the necessary party action measures with regard to those party members who are responsible for tolerating serious flaws in this regard.

Having heard the question on the republic's party and Soviet organs' tasks of improving workers' social welfare conditions, the Bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee noted that a definite effort is being made to this end. Increased production in a number of enterprises is being successfully combined with an expansion of the number of socially-related facilities.

In noticing the positive advances which have been made in the social sphere, the Bureau emphasized that the goal set by the Party towards significant improvement in workers' social welfare conditions is being reached, but that without the required dynamism, the social infrastructure is lagging behind the needs of the population and a developing national economy. The effort to equalize the level of development of individual regions, particularly mountainous and piedmont regions, is proceeding slowly. The construction rates for social and cultural welfare facilities are not fully meeting the targets for improving workers' social conditions and the municipality is lagging behind in its development. In large part, these shortcomings are the result of the fact that the republican ministers and departments and the local Soviets of People's Deputies have been unable to meet their targets fully in this area of activity.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, trade unions and Komsomol organizations have not taken the measures needed to create appropriate social welfare conditions for our workers. Such measures are a decisive factor for bringing about a total turnaround, for improving production efficiency and the development of the individual personality by all means possible.

The Central Committee Buro requires that the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, ministers and departments conduct a painstaking analysis of the state of affairs in the area of social welfare, and then take the necessary measures to implement all of the decisions of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the ArSSR Council of Ministers which deal with these problems. Our trade, public catering and personal services enterprises must take steps to improve the material well-being of the republic's workers', in rural locales as well as in production enterprises. They must also be consistent when putting social and cultural-domestic facilities into operation. They must raise the level of responsibility of directors with regard to creating conditions conducive to highly-productive labor, a healthy way of life and leisure which is rich in content for our workers.

It has been proposed that ArSSR Gosplan, together with ispolkoms of Soviets, concerned ministries and departments develop a goal-oriented program to develop the republic's social infrastructure, broken down by rayons and within the framework of the Goal-Oriented Integrated Program for the Development and Disposition of the Productive Forces of the ArSSR for the Period up to 2010.

Certain other questions concerning economic and social-cultural construction were discussed.

12659

CSO: 1830/373

TuSSR: DEFICIENCIES CITED IN PEOPLES' CONTROL COMMITTEE WORK

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 24 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by N. Shevchenko, chief of the Organizational Department of the TuSSR Committee for Peoples' Control, under the rubric "This was Discussed at the 6th Plenary Session of the TuSSR Communist Party Central Committee": "What Harms Business"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The TuSSR Committee for Peoples' Control, having critically analyzed the activity of the republic's peoples' control organs, discussed this matter at its meeting and identified the primary tasks for further strengthening state discipline and for increasing the struggle against bribe-taking, padding the books, and deception.

At the meeting it was noted that rooted in the work of many peoples' control organs in the republic is a very shameful practice. Instead of an offensive struggle with the negative features, they have directed everything toward the adoption of uncoordinated measures against individual violations. Haste, a superficial approach, timidity in the struggle with padding the books, with embezzlement of socialist property are all quite characteristic of the Leninskiy, Teimanskiy, and Ilyalinskiy Rayon and the Tasnauzskaya Oblast Committees.

As they have discovered cases of violation of state discipline, they do not start struggling against them in principle. As a rule, they merely point out that the placid attitude which is the rule here, the complacency, is unacceptable. Zones of silence, the absence of openness have sprung up around the basic branches of the economy.

First, the oblast committee has essentially allowed such an important branch as the cotton industry to get out of control. In the last two years there was not a single inspection made (!) at the oblast's plants. But the city and rayon committees inspected the cotton mills and the cotton receiving points only from the point of view of their readiness to accept the harvest. It is true that occasionally the agenda included matters of production quality, but these were looked at very superficially. A similar state of affairs was uncovered in the activity of the Ashkhabadskaya and Maryyskaya Oblast and many of their rayon committees of peoples' control.

The agro-industrial complex demands intent oversight. Unfortunately, negative phenomena have encompassed many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. But even these have remained rather outside the patrols' zone of activity. The Tashauzskaya Oblast committee has stubbornly avoided these questions. During 1985 it looked at a total of two cases of padding the books and not protecting socialist property at a number of farms, and it has not looked at a single one in 1986. The weak and ineffective work in this area by the rayon committees has not caused any concern on the part of the oblast committee. This same approach also characterizes the peoples' control committees of the Maryyskaya and Ashkhabadskaya Oblasts. This year, the Ashkhabadskaya Oblast Committee for Peoples' Control, for example, has been limited basically to inspections of the conduct of agricultural equipment activity; in the fall and winter before the 1986 harvest to the quality of repairs to hay gathering equipment, to the gathering of cereal grains, and so on.

This is not simply words. This is all important and necessary. But under no circumstances is it permissible to lose sight of the financial activity of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, of their work in protecting socialist property.

Serious shortcomings in capital construction in the Tashauzskaya Oblast were noted at the 6th Plenary Session of the TuSSR Communist Party Central Committee. They are slowly overcoming negative features with the construction of production and economic projects, housing, medical, and educational projects, but the committees and groups are set aside. This is the state of affairs in more than the Tashauzskaya Oblast.

Thus, as the analysis showed, the city and rayon committees of the Tashauzskaya, Chardzhouskaya, and Maryyskaya Oblasts are paying unjustifiably little attention to checking trade establishments. And here also their results are insignificant. Those guilty of misuse and violations remain unpunished, which engenders in them the illusion that everything is permitted.

The unacceptably low demand made by the committees upon guilty functionaries hampers the effectiveness of control work. The Tashauzskaya Oblast committee, having exposed cases of mismanagement and wastefulness, often just pointed out the shortcomings, brought it to the attention of the guilty ones, and accepted empty reassurances. With the connivance of its chairman, T. Salarov, and his deputy V. Komlev (both of whom were severely reprimanded by the TuSSR Committee for Peoples' Control), there were mild punishments levied this year for flagrant violations of state discipline and mismanagement by the managers of the oblast agricultural production organization, who were guilty of allowing severe losses and spoilage of raw materials at cotton mills, and by managers of oblast trade directorates at whose subordinate enterprises there were massive violations in overpricing and extortion from the populace.

When they examine the results of many important inspections at the meetings, individual committees in the republic accept without discussion a decision only to inform the appropriate organizations. This takes place partly due to low-quality performance of the inspections. Last year and this year, oblast committees issued more than one hundred of these decrees. We must be done with passivity, with incompetence.

The committees also make insufficient use of the force of public activity, and do not ensure that the business managers appear before the collectives and report about the instances of deficits and about the measures taken to correct them. Even the oblast peoples' control committees do not always provide an example in this area. Excluding the Krasnovodskaya Oblast Committee, only one tenth of the inspections during the last two years was conducted in the presence of the workers' collectives and evaluated by them.

Weak demands are yet made on the chairmen of subordinate committees, especially in the Ashkhabadskaya and Chardzhouskaya Oblast committees. All this undoubtedly decreases the effectiveness of control activity.

A serious shortcoming in the work of many committees is that their connections with peoples' control groups are weak. And nevertheless, many groups do not use their capability and assigned rights in the struggle with violations of state discipline. Many abuses by officials at businesses and in organizations take place before the eyes of patrol groups and posts, but they remain indifferent.

At present there are enlarged sessions taking place in the oblast-level committees, and there they are discussing the tasks of the peoples' control organs in further strengthening state discipline, and for increasing the struggle with bribe-taking, padding the books, and deceiving the state. At city and rayon committees also there are joint meetings with representatives of peoples' control groups. Party and soviet organs must see to it that they are active meetings in the spirit of the 27th Party Congress and the 6th Plenary Session of the TuSSR Communist Party Central Committee.

The committees, groups, and posts also must organize their activity so that it completely satisfies the tasks of restructuring, and is conducted in strict accordance with the laws governing peoples' control in the USSR.

9016

CSO: 1830/362

TuSSR: COMPLAINTS ABOUT 'BUREAUCRATISM,' 'FOOTDRAGGING' PERSIST

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,100-word article by Sh. Pinkhasov, director of the office of workers' complaints and suggestions at the TuSSR People's Control Committee, on the nature of the letters received by his office; the article is headlined "We Must Always Examine Workers' Complaints." He notes that in 1986 "there were close to 9,300 letters sent to people's control organs, 600 more than in 1985." He adds that "letters and complaints about the work of service sector factories and organizations, the betrayal of official duties, bureaucratism and footdragging remain in the majority. This situation cannot help but disturb us." He also claims that "there are shortcomings within people's control organs in dealing with workers' complaints. Some local people's control organs, especially in Tashauz, Ashkhabad, and Mary Oblasts, are examining these letters superficially and not viewing them objectively."

/6091

CSO: 1830/505

IZVESTIYA EDITOR LAPTEV ON NEW TASKS OF JOURNALISM

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 18-22

[Interview with Ivan Laptev, chief editor of the newspaper IZVESTIYA, by ZHURNALIST correspondent A. Shcherbakov: "Precision in Newspaper Reporting"; date and time not specified; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Chief editor of IZVESTIYA Ivan Laptev ponders, with our correspondent, the problems of restructuring in journalistic work.

[Question] Both the beginning of the new year and the upcoming Journalists' Union Congress involuntarily prompt people in our profession again and again toward thoughts like these: What do the concepts of "restructuring" and "acceleration" mean for the press today? What have we already realized and done here, and what still remains to be opened up?

[Answer] Yes, today the very greatest difficulties for us are connected with the question: What next? One might perhaps say that our very first conceptions of restructuring have been exhausted or are being exhausted. And now we must clearly and decisively determine what the next steps should be.

[Question] And in what direction?

[Answer] In my opinion, the direction that the second year of the 5-year period gave us. I think it will be more difficult for us than the first, although in the first we had much to get used to and much was new to us. The second demands from us now that we show what has been done. What has been done in the economy, what has been done for people. That is, to demonstrate the concrete results of restructuring, even if they are still not very big. They are there. The movement forward, moreover a very serious movement, has begun. I think that the most important thing for the press is to show the results which have been obtained and support this movement.

But how to show it? For example, there is advanced experience, there is a result. We are obliged to point out the people whose victory it is. Imagine, for example, that we are writing about the fact that an invention 20 years old has been adopted and is yielding a great effect. What has been adopted per se? If it was not adopted for 20 years, and now it has been adopted, that means that for 20 years someone has been fighting the idea, and there is

someone that the idea belonged to, it means that someone's position, someone's opinion triumphs. And it is important to show who and what is behind it, to present the reader with advanced experience in all the drama of its becoming established. Today, this, in my view, is the center of gravity of our work.

We must be aware that the shortage of criticism as the revelation of a particular fact has now been satisfied to a substantial degree. Now it is time for a different criticism. The recent CPSU Central Committee decree gives us examples of it. These examples analyze the entire process of development of one phenomenon or another. And specific means are worked out by which this phenomenon is supported or, conversely, if it is harmful, eliminated. And now, expanding criticism (and this is inevitable: criticism is openness, it is the instrument of restructuring, it is the form by which society evaluates what has been done), we must study just this approach. The word of the press should be an effective word.

During this, it would be good to try, to use a conventional phrase, to clarify each person's place in the working order. Otherwise, now everyone is for restructuring, everyone is for acceleration, but many, many people are waiting until someone shows them just how and where restructuring must be done. Our old acquaintance, the bureaucratic approach, makes itself known. If we are directed to--we will do it, if we are ordered to--we will restructure. In every work place an individual must decide this himself! This quest is often excruciating, it is far from completed, and moreover, it seems to me that it is still only just beginning for real. At the end of 1986, IZVESTIYA published an interview with Academician T. I. Zaslavskaya. In it was this example of so-called "readiness": I would restructure, but what depends on me? Everything is in the hands of my superior. This is replacing true restructuring with a starry-eyed dream about it.

[Question] But we admit that this is, in fact, a difficult and, alas, rather crucial situation. After all, it is no accident that positive processes in practically all spheres of life began with the renovation of cadres, with the party's very active work in just this area.

[Answer] The question of cadres is in general more critical than ever before. It is necessary, on the one hand, to give people the opportunity to work under freer conditions, expand the frameworks for their decision-making, having elections, and so forth. But, on the other hand, leaders, specialists, workers, and kolkhoz members themselves must expand the possibilities of their activities, must take responsibility on themselves. Recently our newspaper published material titled "And Now New People Have Arrived." New leaders came to a lagging farm--and within 2 years they put it on its feet. They put it on its feet with the very same workers, the very same resources and conditions. They simply worked in a new way, they were able to inspire people and knew how to organize. And there are a few such examples! In questions of restructuring and acceleration, newspapers must always inevitably return to this--to the people.

But people also interfere with these people. We are talking about the domination of paper, about the avalanche of unnecessary, outdated instructions. But we must not forget that behind each such instruction is a person, that he

makes his living thanks to it: he thought it up (sometimes decades ago), he "pushed it through," he controls its fulfillment.

And there is this, as well. A person arrives and he falls into a certain long-established system of routines. He knows that in the morning he will be brought such-and-such a paper, and in the evening thus-and-such a one: here he must manage to respond, there he must receive someone, he must not be late for a meeting, and so forth. Today these attitudes too must be changed. And a person who is used to them can become a very powerful brake on changes, and this means on acceleration as well.

[Question] The paper problem has been discussed before, but don't there seem to you to be contradictions in this: Since it is necessary today to make decisions which touch on almost every sphere of life, then despite our sincere desire to destroy the paper Hydra, the flow of decrees--judging merely by the newspapers --is increasing. And the decrees, it seems to me, are necessary ones.

[Answer] Well, as regards the idea that they are urgently needed, I might give you an argument there. I think that many decrees could just as well not be passed. On certain issues, you open a collection of decrees and you see: the one with something new is already the fifth or sixth on the very same topic. We produce decrees without the necessary control over their fulfillment. If there is normative control on the part of the public--which is possible, clearly, only with normative openness--then very many decrees are not necessary.

Second point. The procession of decrees throughout the cities and villages is largely merely a tribute to tradition. As long as management is carried out by administrative methods, that is how long paper is triumphant, that is how long we will have to devote ourselves to instructions and orders, put out circulars, and so forth. Now, at a time when we are converting more and more widely to economic methods of control, an end should be put to these papers. But we must make no mistake--behind every paper, I repeat, is a living person who gathers in his personal harvest from it. And he will fight for it. And strengthen it, the paper, with the demand for a "necessary" report or "necessary" information, and with all manner of additional questions or the introduction of some additional indicator which will require new writing. In one piece of material received by IZVESTIYA, the director of a sewing machine plant told now he received so many papers that merely reading them took him 6 hours per day or more. Getting rid of this imitation work is a very important task. And in resolving it, again much depends on cadres. Cadres are truly a key question. Both in restructuring the mechanism of management, and especially in changing specific practice. Even with the very broadest possibilities for manifesting independence, for cost-accounting and self-financing, the work will proceed only under the indispensable condition that it is moved forward by people who are up to these opportunities.

A year ago a rubric appeared in our newspaper which promised a great deal. It was called "The Cadre Question." One of the items which started it off was material titled "Retirement Application." It prompted a mass of letters, including some with sharp protests. Will you say that there is anything

abnormal if a person, seeing that he cannot cope with his job, writes a request to be transferred to more suitable work? This is natural and sensible. But we have become confirmed in an attitude that such an instance is something extraordinary. We do not say "he left," but--"he was removed." He "was released," he "was asked to leave," and not "he asked," "he applied to leave...." That is how we have gotten used to representing normal things in an abnormal perspective. And as a result, we wait until we really are "removed." And by this means we harm the job as much as we serve it.

[Question] Ivan Dmitriyevich, in my opinion we have gotten to a vital moment in our conversation. Let's say there is a worker who is off to the side of restructuring. The question is, why: because he doesn't want to or because he cannot? If it is the first, this is clear: he must be replaced. But what if it is the second? What do your journalists think in such situations?

[Answer] I often remind my workers: Do not put yourself in the position of a prosecutor or judge. In any case, even if you come in contact with someone who is, in your view, obviously a negative type, try to understand him--even more so if you are analyzing the activities of a leader or a specialist. First it is necessary to begin from the fact that he, no less than we are, is interested in the endeavor, that he is also a communist, also a citizen, just as we are. It is impermissible to attempt to look at any problem, or at any worker, in a haughty manner or "from a distance."

The journalist's very important task consists of objectively and precisely showing the situation. We are powerful not because of our own opinions and conclusions, we are powerful because of the opinion and conclusion which the reader comes to based on our materials. His conclusion works in a way that no article can possibly work.

[Question] But is this the most important aspect of the activities of the press?

[Answer] I repeat: Our contribution to resolving cadre questions, if discussion of them has already gone on, consists of clearly showing the true situation of things and enriching people with new information (if, of course, this is possible), so that they themselves can draw conclusions. And let them make the decision: does one worker or another deserve their trust and does he have the right to be in his former position? And, if perhaps they do similar work, that he is not in the condition necessary to carry out the job? After all, this can happen also. True journalists, as a rule, never thrust anything on anyone. Their task is to make the reader think. It is difficult for me to judge but, in my opinion, IZVESTIYA is devoted to just this sort of journalism.

[Question] You probably already have a concisely formulated answer to my previously prepared question: What is the "human factor" as a newspaper theme?

[Answer] We talk so much about "the human factor", that this concept has already been "talked to death." From the newspaper's point of view, I would formulate it as follows: it is the capacity and opportunity an individual has

to use the existing situation to move an endeavor forward: capacity and opportunity--you will agree that so far the opportunity for this still does not always exist.

It is all simple: we must show people's work--both good and poor. We must reflect it honestly, without innuendoes, we must speak to people straightforwardly. We must not show the endeavor without the people! The problem with our press--an old and still far from eliminated problem--is that the endeavor, minus the people, is what lives on our pages, screens, and in the radio waves.

[Question] But after all, no two endeavors are alike. There could be one conversation, when the talk, for example, is about sewing or harvesting, and the journalist tries to explain something about them to people who are more competent than he, and another conversation about state acceptance of goods, a question which is new for everyone. Here, perhaps, isn't it worthwhile to write about it simply as about a new endeavor--and that's all?

[Answer] You can read in our newspaper an interview with USSR State Committee for Standards Chairman G. D. Kolmogorov concerning state acceptance. It was in November 1986. Does it seem that it would be possible to find someone more "specialized"? But at the center of this interview there were not only the tasks of state acceptance, but also the people who will have to come into the new endeavor and establish normal working relations with plant services and with vast labor collectives. What qualities should these people have? How should these people be selected? How should control over their work be arranged? How should they be insured against pressure from various sides? What is an explanation of the technique of state acceptance?

There can be no theme, nor any business, without human connections. When we, for example, wrote about Lake Baykal, were we really talking about a lake? We were writing about how various people relate to Lake Baykal, about their qualities as citizens, and about what we sons of the fatherland think about its future. The same thing was done in material on Yasnaya Polyana.

[Question] "Letters From the Ministry," in my opinion, are also good examples in this area.

[Answer] Here, it would seem, are completely technical questions. But how did our journalists conduct the conversation? They were trying to answer under what conditions the apparatus worked. What it could do and what it couldn't do; what it consisted of; the people striving to work, attending to their jobs--what position they were in. One after another came the living people in these sketches, their very real participation in resolving today's problems was shown--and the fact that many of them are in need of help. It is no accident that these sketches, which revealed shortcomings in the style of work of vast administrative links, contained very severe criticism directed at ministries and departments, and, while it did not cause any great satisfaction there--understandably--it did evoke understanding. Because these sketches objectively, truthfully portrayed people who with difficulty, with suffering,

with mistakes, often turning back toward what they were used to, were nevertheless throwing themselves into the effort, were working. They themselves, their work, and not the activity of a featureless machine.

That is why for us journalists "the human factor" is a specific, living individual in all his complexity, in all the multitude of his relationship toward the job, toward other people, toward himself, and toward the world as a whole. In thousands of places people are arriving who must do their jobs in a new fashion. They must learn how. And our job is to show how these new people become established both on the job and among other people. We must stand firmly behind a fact in which we ourselves are 100 percent convinced: these people, their approaches and their positions must certainly triumph. The content of the concept of the "human factor" might also be treated as a certain human renewal (here is yet another aspect of the answer to your question). And nothing can cancel this out, although there is still much which can interfere with the process, slow it down.

Today an individual cannot be divided into parts--he is a whole. Just as it is dangerous for the doctor to see only the disease, and not the individual, so for us it is not fruitful to separate out for examination certain individual hypostases of our hero. Why are we in such a hurry to show him as all but exclusively a working person? Why do we say so little about what kind of citizen he is, what kind of family man, what kind of thinker? After all, these are all interrelated. The kind of citizen he is is the kind of worker he is. How he relates to his family is how he relates to production needs. What kind of thinker he is is the kind of creator he is in everyday labor. I am convinced that an examination in the newspaper of the moral aspect of human activity sometimes has an even greater effect on economics than, for example, a purely businesslike article which elucidates an economic problem per se.

The interaction of all qualities of an individual determines his place in our common endeavors. It is dishonest to pass over his weaknesses, afflictions, failures, and problems--including the completely everyday ones. And if we approach the individual merely, to speak crudely, as a workhorse who fulfills one function or another, we are unceremoniously shoving aside that very "human factor."

[Question] In order for acceleration to be successful, "like minds of restructuring," if it may be so expressed, are indispensably needed, isn't that so? But it is just as necessary for this success to bring into the service of the endeavor the broadest possible spectrum of opinions, ideas, suggestions, and solutions both for global and for personal problems--without this a fruitful quest is impossible. So, where and at what point do these varying opinions and unanimity become dialectically combined? And what is the task of the press in bringing about this unification?

[Answer] We are the possessors of a priceless and inexhaustible capital which consists of just this abundance of opinions, greatly varying opinions, and the desire of our people to express these opinions. This is a great treasure--that they have their own opinions. This is a treasurehouse from which we can draw and draw again; and the more you draw from it the richer it becomes. The task of expanding the democratization of our life consists of seeing to it

that, as Lenin said, people know about everything, can judge everything for themselves, and undertake everything consciously. That they know everything and can judge about everything--to a large measure this is our task, the task of journalism.

What contradiction is there, you ask, between the multitude of opinions and the fact that participants in a common cause must work out a unified position? None whatsoever, in my view. These varying opinions, in the overwhelming majority of cases, arise out of a single purpose--everyone, after all, is thinking in one way or another about one and the same goal. The great variance of opinions relates to the means, methods, and possibilities for moving toward it. And here everyone can brainstorm, compare, evaluate, and find the optimal position.

Of course, in such cases the problem of problems is still the ability to have a respectful attitude toward someone else's opinion. Relatively recently we published an article titled "A Ballad to Different Opinions." It was about the fact that we frequently are unable to listen to someone else's opinion, how undemocratic we sometimes are in this regard. This also applies to many leaders of labor collectives. To acquire a solicitous attitude toward the opinion toward those around one, to develop in oneself the capacity to listen, to accept another person's opinion, the ability to think it over even if it seems incorrect to us--this is a task of colossal importance. Here the position should be the same one which we already discussed: to proceed from the belief that he, no less than I, has an interest in the endeavor.

The ability to make use of the collective mind is one of the main paths to success. And we must tell the readers more about how one decision or another is worked out, we must explain that its adoption is not the end but the beginning of everyone's work to implement the ideas contained in it. People will fight for it much more actively if it is their decision, rather than ordered by someone.

[Question] Among other things, in "A Ballad to Different Opinions," which you mentioned, the author came out fairly sharply against the primitive, impoverished in meaning, and at the same time categorical assessments of the phenomena of art by many readers. Aren't you afraid to arouse their indignation, to scare off subscribers?

[Answer] No, we are not afraid. Here too there is the clash of different opinions on problems about which not much has yet been said, a clash which will reveal their urgency. People today are intelligent. They will express their opinion once, maybe twice. Let them do it five times, even 10 times! Let them, even if they stay with their positions, let them at least know that there are others. And we believe that they will treat our position with respect, just as we treat their views with respect. This clash of opinions is a very reliable guarantee against one-sidedness, against mistakes, and it is the irreplaceable foundation of a search for the truth.

[Question] What you are saying confirms that no sort of restructuring is possible without liberating the thinking of the majority, without a victory over the ossification of brains.

[Answer] But that is exactly what restructuring is--the liberation of human possibilities, the victory over ossification. This is the main thing which we should accomplish. In order for each person to become truly a master, he must learn to think like a master. He must know that he (along with others) has worked out a position, he has advanced it, argued for it, or, if necessary, reexamined it--independently and consciously. And now he will confidently bring it to life. This is restructuring, but it is also the main problem which remains to be solved and which, as life shows, is not at all simple to solve.

[Question] Everything which we are talking about today is connected with further developing our democracy, and it is closely connected with questions of authority and with the holders of authority--the soviets. After all, your newspaper is not simply IZVESTIYA, but IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV...

[Answer] Right. There is definitely something to discuss here, something to think about, all the more so in the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October. Last year we studied the problems of the soviets and their work more than ever before. And here is an interesting fact which we ran into: very frequently local soviets, whose leaders eagerly talk about increasing the role and independence of the soviets, are not very prepared for this independence.

[Question] They are not "taking control"? But in one newspaper I recently read this story. One city soviet in the Urals which enjoyed expanded powers of the local soviets laid on an enterprise the obligation of...maintaining a bridge. On the one hand, it is necessary to bring enterprises into the concerns of the city--basically, they have the money and the means. But on the other hand--is this always right? And where are the city department of municipal services, city repairs and construction trust, administration for public services and utilities, and other subdivisions of the ispolkom?

[Answer] Today the problem, in my view, is something completely different. The soviets have been given the rights but frequently they have no opportunities to use them. Take, for example, the village or settlement soviet. Its possibilities, frankly, are wretched. The chairman of the soviet goes to the chairman of a kolkhoz or the director of a sovkhos and asks him to provide transportation in order to, for example, provide pensioners with fuel or get someone to the hospital. To say nothing of the fact that he is always looking for a car to travel to the rayon center on business matters. The material funds that the soviet has...read our materials about the budget of local soviets and you will find out what these funds are like. Therefore the question of whether local soviets are inclined to abuse their rights is, in the overwhelming majority of cases, purely theoretical, so far. I think that precisely because of this situation, much of what the soviets are supposed to carry out they still do with the hands of the party committees, hiding behind their backs as before. And this inevitably results in bureaucratism: once a man does not occupy himself with concrete work, he produces paper.

Take, for example, a village soviet. There are deputies' commissions here, let's say 10 of them. And for each commission (who established this, and

when, I do not know) three to five files have recently been set up: for reports on what has been done, minutes of meetings, and so forth. The deputies write neither these reports nor the minutes. All of this is done by the secretary of the soviet. And now imagine to yourself the individual who is sitting and filling up these 50 (!) files....

[Question] Amateur arts in the field of bureaucracy?

[Answer] No, it is not that simple. After all, when any commission arrives (and this applies not only to the soviets), what does it usually check? Paper. IZVESTIYA has written about this dozens of times. And all the newspapers have written about it. Because in a year the enterprise is visited by, let's say, 200 commissions--don't think that this is a lot, there are sometimes more. Take their 200 conclusions and try to discover: how is the work of this enterprise, good or bad? You can't do it. Because each commission checks some small section: how well has metal scrap been collected? How well has electricity been conserved? How well have injuries been prevented? All of these are necessary matters. But, taken individually, they do not allow us to evaluate the activity of the collective as a whole.

And this is what people have become used to as the norm. Here a man sits and fills up 50 files against every eventuality. For this commission--one file, for that commission--another.... And everything is in order regardless of how the work is actually going.

Three hundred to four hundred commissions per year at an enterprise. Was this really what Lenin had in mind when he said that socialism is report and control? Openness, you will agree, yields 10 times more than all of these checks taken together, because with openness reporting and control is carried out directly by the mass of working people. And they will not allow any sort of deception. And without openness, these commissions, as a rule, do not notice anything that people do not want to show them.

[Question] That's why you introduced the rubric "Frank Talk About Openness" in the newspaper?

[Answer] Yes. This is the second year now that we have been carrying it. The rubric is very serious, complicated. There are complex conflicts, but nevertheless it is necessary to talk about how openness is being affirmed, how it is difficult for many of us to get used to it. This is not simply an account of what happened where, but the formation of public opinion and its expression. Openness is an instrument of the party, an instrument of the leadership of society, an instrument of administration which cannot be replaced by anything.

[Question] And a very important part of it is the press. But could one say that openness is also an element of power?

[Answer] Well, I would say this: to a great extent it is the way power constantly answers to the people, the dialogue between the people and the government, the discovery of the people's opinion. In particular, this is why

we worked very hard on the rubric "Frank Talk About Openness," which has now been supplemented by the rubric "Openness: The Response." And, frankly, they have been vigorously opposed.

[Question] By the subjects of critical materials?

[Answer] By them, by those who think that not everything should be brought out on the pages of the newspaper. But today we can and should talk about everything. As long as it is done honestly, justly, and...not from the sidelines. Even shadows of any kind of gloating or attempts to catch people must not be permitted. We are all still learning this today. M. S. Gorbachev has said, you remember, that we must all learn to live under the conditions of democracy. And right now, the process of this teaching is going on. Moreover the learning has turned out to be extremely difficult, including for us, the journalists.

[Question] In the context of this complex life situation, what would you like to say to our colleagues who are conducting in their editorial offices topics connected with the soviets?

[Answer] I think that today in our press, just as in society as a whole, a new approach toward the soviets is taking shape. What does the soviet do? Briefly, everything which is beyond the sphere of production, outside of the factory gates: trade, medical service, schools, housing, kindergartens, purity of the atmosphere, the state of the roads, cafeterias, preservation of public order.... When we write that something has not turned out there, a store is not operating well, transportation is unsatisfactory, there are not enough spaces in the hospital or the doctors are not qualified enough, then, whether we like it or not, we are talking about the work of the soviet authorities. And today people are asking: Who is responsible for all this according to our constitution, according to the laws, according to the structure of our state? The soviet of people's deputies and its executive committee bear legal and other types of responsibility for all of this.

So this is where we are obliged to start. We must help the soviets, persistently returning to problems of expanding their capacities, but we should also help people to ask for things from the soviets. But many of them there are living very quietly, having happily transferred their responsibility onto the party organs.

[Question] Obviously, there is a connection between this approach and your newspaper's line which is directed toward activating the population, the electors. I liked the story told in IZVESTIYA about how the inhabitants of a settlement, using their rights as electors, put back their soviet chairman, who had been advanced "for promotion." In my opinion, this is a fairly rare incident.

[Answer] I remember that publication. You know, last year we received a great deal of unusual material, examples of people's high political maturity and culture. They realize better than ever their opportunities, rights, and social needs. And they themselves can assess the usefulness, uselessness, sometimes even harmfulness of one step or another, one decision or another.

This convinces us yet again that restructuring, even though not as rapidly as we would like, has gone deep down, has touched entire layers of psychology. This case is just such an instance. The townspeople saw that for the first time in many years they had gotten a soviet chairman who, in all the modesty of his abilities, had nevertheless made something real, had become a true head of local authority--without noise and shouting. And people began to respect him, they got behind him in causes which were useful to everybody. And so they would not give him up "for promotion." We also know other similar examples connected with elections of, for example, kolkhoz chairmen.

[Question] Well, to conclude our talk: What questions, in your view, are pressing now, on the eve of the Congress of the USSR Writers' Union, and, incidentally, the eve of the 70th anniversary of IZVESTIYA?

[Answer] You are asking an open-ended question. I will take only a few aspects from it. The main thing, it seems to me, is the fact that restructuring has still not occurred in the newspapers. Take any one of them --to what extent does it differ from what it was 3 or 4 years ago? Alas, the differences are very small. Of course, we should not strive for differences for the sake of differences. But we cannot help asking: to what extent do the newspapers fully reflect what is going on today in the life of the country, the party, and the Soviet state? Still very incompletely! We are still approaching many issues in a stereotypical fashion. We still work circumspectly, afraid to offend anyone: suppose something should happen?... Even when 100 percent convinced of the correctness of your position, you sometimes catch yourself doubting: Isn't it perhaps too sharp? Suppose somebody were to say something? But all of these are the doubts of yesterday. Even in the approaches to organizing life within the editorial office--even then how conservative we are!

We have now abolished the daily routine for creative workers. As long as they are, as we say, in the necessary form at the necessary time in the necessary place.

[Question] And evaluated, as they say, by the product?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Has discipline increased or decreased because of this?

[Answer] Increased. Now no one has to be forced to work. There are still people on the newspapers who have been given their tasks, and it is necessary only not to interfere with them. Not to create the conditions of any kind of supervision, of a....

[Question] Petty routine [sluzhbizm]....

[Answer] That's it exactly, formal discipline. Now it is already evening, it is late, but go, if you please, into the editorial office--a good half of the collective is on the job. And the issue already came out 4 hours ago. Under a formal order this would not have happened--they would have left, as they say, at the sound of the bell.

Or take the departments of the editorial office, the principles of their organization. They are a kind of reflection of the departmental structure of the economy. But why not organize an editorial office in accordance with, for example, directions of policies: a department of economic policy, a department of social policy, and so forth? This idea is in the air.

It would be very important for editorial offices to have complete freedom in questions of staff schedules and wages. For instance, now no one is any longer forbidden from manifesting initiative here, but at the same time any cadre decision is connected with a number of, in my view, needless difficulties.

All of this is necessary so that the conditions can be created for each journalist under which he feels that he is in a place which is uniquely his own and is just right, and that he is convinced: his word in the newspaper is a golden word. This, it is true, can lead to a certain independence, but what can you do, that happens with creative people.

If you're talking about creative issues, I would like to touch on concerns about the quality of the newspaper, in particular the fact that the time has now come to turn primary attention to the quality of the theme. In IZVESTIYA (and not only IZVESTIYA) the following frequently occurs: a topic which deserves a brief report becomes a verbose main article; and, conversely, a worthwhile theme, for which even an entire page should not be grudged, makes do with a brief, unpalatable, unreadable notice. The ability to pick up on such things, it seems to me, is in short supply today for practically all of us.

It is also time to find new ways of treating certain old themes which have been "written to death." For example, the topic of labor discipline. Here everything is clear. Here is the situation: an enterprise is converting to self-support and self-financing. How does the question of labor discipline stand under these conditions? In what way will the new relationships and new economic mechanism influence the state of labor discipline? What influence will the role of wages have? And what influence will our traditions have? What tasks will come up before the trade union? All of this requires study and an answer.

Or, here we have been conducting discussions for a long time under the rubric "Season and Prices"--concerning the market, the way in which it is supplied with goods, and so forth. And now the time has come to talk about expanding the market in connection with the law on individual labor activity. How should we propagandize this law? On the one hand, this law, and on the other hand the law on fighting against unearned income. On the one hand, an understanding by the representatives of local authority of the usefulness to society of developing individual labor activity, and on the other hand, the fear of leaders of farms that they will lose some part of their labor force to this. It seems to me that a law enacted requires defense, relatively speaking, both from the right and from the left. We intend to propagandize it in approximately the following fashion: to show what is possible here and what is impossible, what is legal and what is illegal, what is within the power of

local authority and what is not. That is, a completely new approach is needed. After all, fairly often our elucidation of some decree or law has been carried out and is still being carried out according to the principle: "Wonderful! Let's do it! We are all 'ayes'!" And that is all. It is now necessary to do this differently. Many new measures are currently being developed, in particular a new system of wages. We must be fully armed in order to elucidate them as we should.

And here the question arises, I would say, of constantly continuing a journalist's training in foreseeing what life may hand him tomorrow.

It seems to me that we should also think about the nature of the news in the newspaper. Naturally, the newspaper cannot keep up with either the television or the radio in spreading news. What kind of news, then, is particularly for the newspaper? First, we must provide, relatively speaking, "social news," rather than merely information about events. For example, a decision which has been made to regulate the wages of medical workers. On the following day we provide not merely a report but an explanation: what is behind this, how, how much, to whom, why, in what time frame? Second, we must give a more attentive treatment to the information of the television and radio. An individual who has heard some news wants to find out more about it on the next day. And we must manage to satisfy this desire of his, to provide commentary on the event. Today this is necessary more than ever before by virtue of the fact that for a prolonged time people were not getting full information about what was going on in the country and in the world....

[Question] ...Especially in the countryside. We listened to the BBC mainly because of the news from Moscow....

[Answer] Exactly, that phenomenon arose because of this. When we report all the information about one event or incident or another (I stress this: all) many people nevertheless still have the feeling that something is yet being held back. And right away the conjecturing effect arises. This conjecturing turns into talk. A rumor is born. And this happens, I repeat, even in a case when the information about the event was complete. And this means we must continue to give, give and give this complete information in order to overcome this complex on the part of the public.

And here is something else that sometimes depresses me, though more often as a reader. Our newspapers are very similar, they resemble one another as closely as two peas in a pod. So much similarity is impermissible. It seems to me that this goes on largely because many editorial offices are unable to define precisely their general topics. But if there is an identical obligation to write about everything, this brings with it the condition of writing "like everyone." And the mutual exchange of experience here can yield not so much a positive as a negative result. If we, for example, develop a moral theme in a particular fashion, then repetition of our treatment by another newspaper does not enrich Soviet journalism.

It would be good for every newspaper to have something which no other newspaper has nor could have. Its own approach, range of topics, characteristics of style--even if it is something small! In the final

analysis, even just allotting space to some topic which no one is giving space to any more, material on a page which others never place on this page, but something of its own, done in its own fashion. Here is something we should all think about. For instance, we have taken a risk this year and embarked on a maneuver with the length of an issue: one issue per week is published in eight pages, another in four. What will come of this--we will see, but so far the readers--thank you, readers--have approved this innovation extremely energetically.

But, I repeat, thoughts concerning improving our journalistic work could go on forever, as endless as the work itself is--and, let us acknowledge, endlessly fascinating. And truly we must not forget the responsibility of our job.

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CSO: 1800/419

PAPER REJECTS INSTITUTE'S COMPLAINT OF 'SLANTED' ARTICLE

PM080901 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 May 87 p 2

[V. Potapov and Yu. Solomonov feature: "What Did 'Distortion' Reveal. Postscript to a Newspaper Report and the Official Response To It"]

[Excerpts] Official Response

The Khimki [Moskovskaya Oblast] CPSU Gorkom Bureau examined at one of its sessions A. Romanov's article "Distortion," published by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA on 27 January 1987.

The bureau noted that the Moscow State Institute for Culture Party Committee provided inadequate guidance for party organizations' activity as regards questions of the leadership of the Komsomol and relaxed its demands on young communists working in the Komsomol. There are shortcomings in the selection of professorial and teaching cadres by the rectorate, which resulted in poor standards of teaching in individual subjects. Insufficient attention was given to the development of students' self-management and to the enhancement of young people's activeness and initiative.

V. Tikhonova, secretary of the Moscow State Institute for Culture Party Committee, was reprimanded by the CPSU Gorkom Bureau for shortcomings in the Party Committee's work on the leadership of the Komsomol organization and for the relaxation of demands on the rectorate as regards the selection and placement of professorial and teaching cadres. Institute Rector L. Bogdanov was reprimanded for shortcomings in the selection of professorial and teaching staff and for relaxing demands on deans' offices and departments as regards the improvement of the teaching and educational process. V. Knyashko, secretary of the Komsomol gorkom, was censured for slackening attention to the work of the institute's Komsomol organization.

It was noted that the Institute Party Committee, the rectorate, and the Komsomol Committee have elaborated a plan of measures to eliminate the criticisms remarks made at the Komsomol report and election conference and by the CPSU Gorkom Bureau.

The Party Committee and rectorate of the Moscow State Institute for Culture have been instructed to give more attention to the development of students' self-management and improvement of the forms and methods of ideological

education work among students, to enhance lecturers' responsibility for individual work with students, and to involve them in active creative activity.

The CPSU Gorkom Bureau also noted that some student members of the communist party committed violations of the norms of party and Komsomol life.

The CPSU Gorkom Bureau confirmed the decision by the Moscow State Institute of Culture Party Committee to severely reprimand I. Kazak and endorse his service record for gross violations of the CPSU Statute, nonperformance of party instructions regarding work in the Komsomol organization, unparty-like behavior, and falsification of data concerning his education when enrolling for preliminary training.

By way of amending the decision by the Moscow State Institute of Culture Party Committee, A. Tadevosyan was reprimanded and his service record was endorsed for nonperformance of party instructions regarding work in the Komsomol organization and violation of the norms of party life.

#### Editorial Office Postscript

Let us remind our readers: The article "Distortion" covered the Komsomol report and election conference at the Moscow State Institute for Culture. The speeches and behavior by students Tadevosyan, Kazak, Korolev, and Filatov at that conference were sharply condemned by the institute's rectorate and Party Committee: "The group is waging a struggle against the leadership of the institute, the Party Committee, and the Komsomol Committee secretary."

This last quotation comes from a statement of facts enclosed with a letter sent to the editorial office, soon after publication of the article, by Rector L. Bogdanov and Party Committee Secretary V. Tikhonova. The letter reports that the article was examined at an enlarged session of the Party Committee, and that it makes a number of correct criticisms of existing shortcomings. But the very same letter also says the following:

"The publication of this article, with its slant and the way it presents the material, diverges from the Leninist principle of the party-mindedness of the press and the decisions of the 27th Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. The author takes up the case of students who were fairly punished along party lines for unparty-like behavior and thus attempts to sow among students mistrust in the institute's party organization. The Moscow State Institute for Culture Rectorate and Party Committee express their amazement that a newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee could have carried an unverified article which is contrary to the truth, and hope that the editorial office will conduct an objective investigation, offer a principled assessment of the article 'Distortion,' and bring the true state of affairs to the knowledge of its confused readers. A statement of facts regarding the article 'Distortion' is attached."

But the article was about something different. It was about the right of everyone, regardless of whether he may be a bad or a good student, to express his own opinion at the conference, to offer his own assessment of the

organization's work, and to make suggestions. About a right which should not be acquired at the cost of diverse punishment, absurd accusations of conspiracy, and so on.

"They are communists," we heard in the course of a conversation with Party Committee and rectorate representatives. "Tadevosyan and Kazak violate the principles of party leadership of the Komsomol...."

But where is the violation of these principles? Can it be that a communist is not entitled to hold his own opinion on the work of the Komsomol organization, to share his opinion with others, and to express it wherever it may be?

The editorial office thanks all who expressed their views on the article and who wrote to us. We announce at the same time that all letters containing complaints or requests for assistance will be passed on by us to oblast party and Soviet organs.

And last, we felt bitter that, at the party meeting in question, V. Tikhonova said about "Distortion": The correspondent attempted to sow among students mistrust of the Party Committee.

Far from it! Neither that article, nor this postscript pursues this goal. We are working for the same common cause. And the sooner we understand this, the more correctly we will accept criticism against us. And this must be understood by everyone: Democracy demands it.

/12913

CSO: 1800/589

TRADE-UNION DOCUMENTARY FILM IS UNUSUALLY 'REVEALING'

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by Igor Itskov, screenwriter, under the rubric "Impression": "It Has Been a Long Time Since We Have Seen Such Candor in Documentary Filmmaking"]

[Text] With an enviable quickness of response, television has shown a film just created by documentary filmmakers: "Several Interviews on Trade-Union Matters" [Neskolko intervyyu po profsoyuznym voprosam] (screenplay by B. Batarchuk and L. Kravchenko, directed by A. Pavlov).

I dare say a year or two ago this premiere would not have evoked any special interest: just another "picture made for a date"--in this case the opening in the capital of the trade-union congress. In unofficial conversation, the terms "necessary film" and "survey film" have even been coined.

"Several Interviews" is decidedly different from such films, which are cut in a familiar and convenient pattern. And it differs, first and foremost, by virtue of its candid, critical and serious discussion. It is conducted by the most diverse people--economic executives who are known to the whole country, and ordinary working people.

In essence, it is a kind of questionnaire, a sociological survey about the role, significance and potential of trade unions in our present-day life with its debates and changes. The answers to the "questionnaire" are extremely diverse, and almost every one makes one think. Indeed, hasn't it become a deeply ingrained habit to discuss trade unions, so to speak, exclusively from a "tour guide's" point of view? And what about the problems of social and economic acceleration?

It is distressing to look at half-collapsed, abandoned clubs and to see the new occupants of apartments patching up the builders' flaws. That's all true. But how much more distressing is deeply rooted indifference and, sometimes, the disbelief that it is possible to change, improve and transform anything. It has been a long time since we have seen such candor in observation and analysis in documentary filmmaking.

But there is something else that is no less important. The film's creators look for and find in everyday matters the genuine shoots of the new, evidence of real, and not just imaginary, changes.

The freshness and newness of the film's tone--both in its cinematic solutions (cameramen V. Mayev and M. Minkin) and in its succinct, precise commentary (which is delivered well by A. Boltnev)--are attractive. The structure itself of the film is free, unfettered and mobile--it's as though the questions and answers were plucked from the stream of our rapidly flowing and changing life. It offers interesting and serious information for the delegates to the trade-union congress and for all of us.

Information for reflection? Yes. But better--for action.

8756

CSO: 1800/428

TURKMEN JOURNALISTS URGED TO COMBAT 'BUREAUCRATISM'

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 28 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial timed to the opening in Ashkhabad of the Seventh Congress of the TuSSR Journalists Union; the editorial is headlined "The Vast Obligation of Journalists." Quoting Gorbachev on the duties of journalists during a period of reconstruction, the editorial points out that "to fulfill these demands we must mobilize ourselves to be more energetic and work with greater initiative. We must use fewer empty or flowery words and, in not using them at all, we must apply more meaningful words which reveal a complete situation. Journalists and workers in other mass media and propaganda organizations must help the party in rebuilding everyone's thinking, from worker to minister, and in improving work style. We must expose the basic enemy in this struggle--bureaucratism."

/6091

CSO: 1830/506

## ISLAMIC TRADITIONS DISRUPT MARITAL BLISS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by M. Safarov, director, Republic Palace of Scientific Atheism, under the rubric "On Atheistic Themes": "Happiness for Sale, or How Marriages Made in Heaven End"; first paragraph is KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA introduction]

[Text] From its very beginning this story had all the signs of an impending drama but none of its participants realized this, apparently because the events unfolded in a customary, so-to-speak classical pattern.

There were no bounds to Dzhamshed's joy.

The agricultural institute and the years of separation from his loved ones were behind him. He was back home now, in his native kishlak of Shulduk, in Leningradskiy Rayon. A diploma attesting to his higher education was in his pocket. There was job waiting for him, too--safety engineer at the local sovkhos.

"The next thing you need to do is get married, and have a son," said secondary school teacher Safar Pirov in a manner which intimated that this decision had been made long ago. "I've even found a bride for you."

A parent's will was law to Dzhamshed. He was taught from his early years to obey and respect the authority of grownups. And he was not going to do anything different this time either. He learned that his father intended him to marry Zebo (the name was changed out of ethical considerations.--Author's note)--the daughter of his old friend bobo Nazar from the neighboring village. What could Dzhamshed say, his father could see the big picture, he had acquired the wisdom of the laws of Shariah. So let it be so!

Dzhamshed met his bride for the first time in the house of his future father-in-law on the eve of the wedding ceremony, which by unanimous opinion was to be performed by a mullah. Of course the young maiden herself wished to register the marriage in the village Council of Kulchashma and to get her passport at the same time.

"Oh, you'll get to the registrar's office in due time, my dear," promised the elders, who had thought out all of the details of the forthcoming solemnities on behalf of the young ones. "But first things first--the customs of our ancestors."

In the meantime Dzhamshed surveyed his predestined. "Why, she's actually good-looking. Like the poets wrote in the olden days: 'The water of beauty streams over her face, the very sun has been shamed by the shine in her eyes, and the moon has turned to clay at her sight....'" While the bridegroom's thoughts soared in the heights of poetic expression, a cloud of gloom drifted over the brow of the young maiden's father.

"What is troubling you so, my dear friend?" Safar anxiously queried.

"Your son's disrespect of my gray hair. Can you not see that he comes to me in my home with his head uncovered?"

The bridegroom was indeed without his skullcap.

"Oh, this little matter is easily corrected, my dear Nazar," the bridegroom's father tried to rectify the situation.

But Nazar was not to be placated. The unfortunate skullcap--or more accurately the absence of it--spoiled his mood in the end, and caused him to doubt the value of the gifts he received in the matchmaking.

"Your bride-money is beneath the value of my daughter," bobo Nazar stuck to his guns.

Wounded to his very core, the muallim could not let the insult pass. One word followed another, and the skirmish almost led to a parting of the ways. The cold wind of discord blew through the drawing room. However, it was decided to resolve the dispute "for the sake of the happiness of the young ones." But as fate would have it, the insults burned permanent scars into the hearts of the old friends. And when after the wedding ceremony the newlyweds were getting into the car to drive to the home of the husband, Safar Pirov's thoughts turned sour: "This young maiden may be as chaste as Robia, but I'll find a way to quench the light of her virtue."

It was several months later that Dzhamshed brought the young girl to her parents for a visit. Zebo looked happy. She was preparing for motherhood, and it was probably for that reason that her beautiful face shined with tenderness. The young wife generously shared her joy with all in the household. So it went for a week, another, and then a month. Then a blemish of sadness appeared on the ripe apple of happiness. Dzhamshed lost interest in his wife.

During that time he was lavishing languorous looks upon a new bride that his father found in short order for his obedient son. The plan of vengeance conceived by the muallim on that unfortunate wedding evening was placed into motion. The fateful skullcap was the starting point of a game with the young maiden's honor as its stake.

Permit me a slight digression, dear reader. Was the traditional headgear really to blame? It stands to reason that the cause of the failure of the potential family happiness of Dzhamshed and Zebo must be sought in something else. Recall that the son obediently consented to marry the young maiden picked out by his father, and he obeyed the first demand to abandon her. We will not condemn Zebo--things are bad enough for her already. But who knows, things may have turned out differently if she had the strength to say no.

Traditions, customs, habits. Sanctified by Islam, they are especially viable in the home. Religion is in no hurry to leave the modern town, chained as it is to the family hearth, to the tall courtyard walls reigning over the homes and kishlak lanes. Shariah continues to regulate not only the moral but also--this is especially alarming--the legal norms of the lives of the faithful, and of those sympathetic to them. After all, the bulk of the inhabitants of the villages participate in ancient rites under the pressure of group religious opinion--that is, out of a reluctance to insult elders, relatives, friends and neighbors. And the numbers of people participating in worship services are not decreasing, despite the altered social countenance of today's Tajik town.

Subjective factors--in particular, daily religious influence upon growing children--play more than just a small role in survival of religious vestiges. This you can do, that you can't--why? The children want to know, and they learn that "Allah does not will it so," or "So it is written in the Koran." The acts of the parents mold the future behavior of their sons and daughters as they grow to adulthood. Dzhamshed was willed--and Zebo was compelled--to act in the manner in which their great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers, their fathers and their mothers did. And neither the color television flickering in the room, nor the roar of jets flying over the roofs of the houses are able to cast any doubt upon the logic of decisions made not by them. The 21st century is hastening toward us, but we are in no hurry to meet it. Some find comfort and peace in the prison of obsolete ideas, in this cradle of their ancestors: Someone else thinks for you, makes decisions for you, lives for you.

Zebo never did become a mother. Dzhamshed, who was apportioned to her as her husband by Allah himself, reacted with total unconcern on hearing that the child was stillborn. By that time he had found comfort in another, having married her in accordance with Soviet law, as would be befitting of a Komsomol member, and a diploma-bearing specialist at that. Such were the wishes of his father.

Kishlaks dot the countryside thickly around here, and gossip carries both good and bad news as fast as the wind. All of the neighbors soon learned that Safar Pirov's son was to be married a second time. Apparently the only ones who remained ignorant of the fact were workers of the executive committee of the Kishlak Council of Sarimaydan, where the marriage was registered.

But what about the first wife, the one bestowed by Allah? I am referring not to her spiritual state, which I feel would be obvious to anyone, but rather to what is to become of her. The Shariah's answer is quite simple: A husband

who decides not to live with an unloved wife beneath the same roof must utter the words "se talok," ["I divorce thee"] and then not burden himself with thoughts of subsequent fate.

But here's the rub: CPSU member, teacher Safar Pirov does not accept the heavenly simplicity of divorce Shariah style. He is insisting upon a reexamination of this ortodox dogmatic tenet of Islam with the purpose of adapting it to the greatest degree to modern conditions. And who do you think he is trying to persuade that this should be done? Bobo Nazar himself, whose parental feelings were subjected to such a severe trial.

"If you want my daughter's divorce, return the bride-money," the muallim struck at the very soul of his former friend.

But it would seem that the other was reluctant to part with the gifts he had acquired "through so much suffering." In any case he is arrogantly ignoring all of the claims of the previous arrangement. The haggling is still going on today.

It is said that whenever the haggling elders arouse each other's passions and begin to shout at each other, Zebo, who plays no part in any of this, goes away into a distant room and weeps there silently, in fear of frightening peace away from her righteous home.

From the editor: We purposely asked the author not to make any moral judgments such as: "Why didn't society intervene?". It seems quite clear that neither the women's council nor the elder's council nor the rural council are popular in these kishlaks. One could hardly imagine that any attempts could ever be made to celebrate a family holiday or solemnly commemorate a golden wedding in places where the new customs are not held in esteem. And to keep from repeating ourselves, to keep from eliciting skeptical smirks from the reader, we decided not to appeal to legal organs for justice. No, after reading this article we simply wish to pose a single question to one person, and namely Adolat Rakhmonova, first secretary of the Leningradskiy Rayon Committee: What is your opinion of these events? What we would like is your assessment both from the position of a party leader, and simply from a woman's point of view.

11004

CSO: 1830/402

# THEATER'S FIRST PLAY STAGED ON PROFIT-LOSS BASIS

Moscow VECHERNAYA MOSKVA in Russian 27 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Ye. Stepanova under the rubric "Theater": "For the First Time on the Moscow Stage"]

[Text] Try to imagine the unimaginable: you are expecting guests, and you are bringing in chairs for them, many chairs. Finally, the guests come, but you don't see them! Neither the hosts, the 90-year-old Old Man and Old Woman, nor the viewers who come tomorrow to the Dramatic Theater imeni K. S. Stanislavskiy to the premiere of the play "Chairs" by the well-known French playwright Eugene Ionesco, will see the guests.

The sole visible guests here is the Orator, hired by the Old Man in order to read the message that is his life's work. But the paradox of the situation is that the orator is--dumb.

The play is not as cheerful as it may seem at first glance. For the life that the protagonists have lived turns out to be senseless for them. This is precisely why the Old Man's message is not heard from the stage: to all intents and purposes, neither he nor the wordless orator have anything to say to their contemporaries. The benumbed tongue symbolizes the benumbed feelings of these people "without qualities."

This is what the performance, which is produced by A. Tovstonogov, the theater's chief director, is about.

"The play 'Chairs' is the first work we are presenting for the viewers' judgment in the new year," he said. "Its appearance on the theater's playbill is no accident. As of 1 January the troupe began an experiment that gave us independence in the choice of repertoire. This, in turn, gives the troupe the opportunity to reveal to viewers interesting works by authors who have not yet been staged in theaters. A specific example is the play "Chairs." This is the first production of Ionesco's work on the professional Moscow stage.

"A peculiarity of our new work is also the fact that it arrived at the theater, so to speak, 'from outside.' At one time the actor Aleksey Zaytsev tried out in the role of the Old Man, a character in the play 'Chairs,' in our theater. It was only an application for a role. But one must say, a very

interesting role. Now Zaytsev is an actor at the Dramatic Theater imeni K. S. Stanislavskiy. He will play the role of the Old Man, which he developed long ago, in tomorrow's premiere, which will take place at 6:00 pm.

"And there's something else I would like to say. The production also owes its birth to the experiment. It is being staged using money that the theater has saved. It was prepared outside the plan and accepted by the artistic council, and now it's the viewers' turn to have their say. The sets for the new work were designed by the theater's chief designer A. Oparin. In addition to A. Zaytsev, the actors Yu. Sherstnev and Zh. Gerasimov will perform in the premiere."

8756

CSO: 1800/428

## MOSCOW'S EXPERIMENTAL THEATERS SHORT ON BUILDINGS

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by N. Balashova, under the rubric "Experiment in Progress": "For Whom EKHO Will Sound: Six New Collectives Added to Family of Capital's Theaters"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] They already exist, having been reviewed by all official offices and been approved by all of them. And at the same time, they seemingly don't exist at all, since they have practically no publicity (radio or television), you won't see posters for them around the city, and only in the latest issues of DOSUGA V MOSKVE [Leisure in Moscow] (which, incidentally, you can't buy in a single stall of Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications], either) have announcements of some of their performances started to appear. "They" are the new Moscow theaters that began their official existence on 1 January 1987.

New Moscow theaters! Just think: New creative collectives have finally appeared in Moscow! A sensation! An event! And we greet it as something ordinary and everyday. One feels vexed for the new-born theaters, and vexed for you and me, theatergoers who in our vast majority do not know what sort of troupes these are. Yet their birth is a truly significant act in the capital's cultural life.

If we look at the not-so-distant past, we will recall that before the war, for example, Moscow had a much larger number of theaters than it does now. It did so by virtue of relatively small studio theaters led by major, well-known directors and actors, unique studios that did not resemble one another. And theatergoers attended them willingly, because a special atmosphere reigned in them--an atmosphere of trusting, heartfelt discussion between the stage and audience. After the war such studios no longer sprung up, and during the entire period from 1946 to 1986--40 years!--only four new theaters were opened in the capital: in 1956 the Sovremennik, born of its founders' suffering; in 1976 the New Dramatic Theater in Babushkinskiy Rayon; and just recently, two former traveling troupes of Moskontser have "settled down" and acquired permanent buildings--the Sfera Theater (1985) and the Jewish Dramatic Studio Theater (1986). And every one of these theaters was born in agony, in a desperate struggle for the right to exist; in bureaucratic spheres the establishment of new theatrical organisms was for some reason considered an

unserious, pointless and practically harmful undertaking. Yet statistics indicate that there are supposed to be nine theater seats for every 1,000 residents. And as of today we in Moscow have precisely half the norm--4.5 seats per 1,000. But even this half turns out not to be always used. After all, it is no secret that in a number of theaters the halls for some performances are no more than two-thirds, if even half, full. And this is not because theatergoers are such lazy people and so lacking in curiosity, but because plays are shallow and performances uninteresting.

And here it is necessary once again to put in a bad word for the firmly entrenched and, until recently, unshakeable system whereby permission to produce a play had to be granted, and prepared productions accepted, by higher administrative cultural agencies. A bureaucratic system, to put it bluntly, but one that was, alas, mandatory for theaters, whereby not the creative collective but the people who supervised it could forbid the performance of a play that a theater had selected and could interfere in a prepared production in such a way that its whole meaning came out upside down.

On the other hand, life was much freer and simpler in the amateur theater. Granted, there, too, there were commissions that approved repertoires and accepted productions, but usually this all was done with little blood. Moreover, amateur troupes were regarded more tolerantly: in a word--amateurs! And interesting creative people possessed by a thirst for exploration and experimentation began to be drawn to the amateur theater. Interesting dramatic troupes that set themselves serious artistic tasks began to spring up at Houses of Culture, clubs and libraries. Their repertoire in no way duplicated the offerings of the professional theaters. Their participants were simultaneously actors and stagehands, set designers and lighting operators--they did everything with their own hands, and everyone was on an equal footing. A spirit of collectivism, like-mindedness and close-knittedness arose of its own accord--that same excellent studio spirit from which the Moscow Art Theater, the Theater imini Vakhtangov and the Sovremennik had at one time been born. And word of the new theaters, which seemingly did not officially exist anywhere, yet were actively operating, began to spread around Moscow. The Yugo-Zapad, Na Doskakh [On the Boards], Nikita's Gates, Chekhov Street and Krasnaya Presnya studio theaters aroused the greatest interest.

On the days of performances at these amateur studios the small halls (at the most, 100-120 seats) were always overflowing, and group applications for seats were spread out practically up to the very end of the season. Understanding that such viewer interest had to be met with very serious, professional work, the studio theater members began to be drawn to the theater schools. Over the years (and many of these studio theaters already have eight to ten years of active stage performances behind them) practically all the former amateur actors acquired special education. To all intents and purposes, they were already professional theaters, although they were officially listed as amateur theaters. And who knows how long this might have gone on, if it were not for the fresh wind of change that has affected the sphere of our culture, among other things. The experiment drawn up by the Ministry of Culture and proposed

by the professional theaters, which gives them substantial freedom in both creative and financial terms, also suggested a course of further development and improvement to the amateur troupes.

Four studio theaters--Na Doskakh, Nikita's Gates, Chekhov Street and the Moscow Experimental--put forth a proposal to begin operations on the basis of a collective contract and cost-accounting, forming the Ekho Experimental Association. Through a 10 November 1986 decision of the Moscow City Soviet Ispolkom, they became state theatrical and performance enterprises, operating as of 1 January 1987 on the basis of self-financing and according to the principles of the collective contract. The length of the experiment is two years. It would seem that they have finally received long-deserved recognition of their many years of self-sacrificial, selfless service of art. But new difficulties have arisen here.

Almost all of the newly created theaters lack their own buildings. The troupe directed by M. Shchepenko was located in the basement of an apartment building on Chekhov Street, from which it took its name. As of today the building is undergoing capital repairs and the theater has been closed. The theater has been allocated space at 64 Chkalov Street--a two-story, dilapidated building. The building requires serious repairs, and in the meantime the actors have been knocking about using whatever space turns up in a club, adapting their production to a new stage every time.

The Nikita's Gates Studio Theater, headed by M. Rozovski, staged its performances for four years as an amateur troupe in a small hall in a medical employees' House of Culture. But a professional theater operating on the basis of cost-accounting can no longer take shelter as a poor relative in someone else's building. The Moscow City Soviet Ispolkim has also allocated a building to this troupe, and the building also needs to be modified to serve as a theater. In the meantime it was decided that the studio theater would be housed temporarily on Leningrad Prospect in the building of the Lebed Housing Construction Cooperative, where, in accordance with the architectural design, a theater facility had been planned and constructed but for some reason had never been used for its intended purpose.

It's a strange thing: given the most acute shortage of theater and concert halls, an excellent facility that could accommodate as many as 400 viewers nightly remained empty for many years, until half of it was occupied (in 1984) by a section of the Lyuks Trust of Mossnabremont [Moscow Administration for the Material and Technical Supply and Repair of Housing], or to put it simply--an apartment repair office. And now that these premises are supposed to be occupied by a newly created theater, it turns out that there is no main entrance and no lobby, and that the public will be forced to enter practically directly into the auditorium from some side door, since there is not even any place for a cloakroom. A request to turn over the entire theater premises as provided for in the architectural plan to the Nikita's Gates Studio Theater was turned down by the Leningradskiy Rayon Soviet Ispolkom. "In connection with the lack of unoccupied premises in the rayon, it is not deemed possible to move the Lyuks section to other quarters at the present time," says a letter signed by N. A. Bronnikova, deputy chairman of the rayon soviet ispolkom.

This is why you don't see posters for the new young theaters on city billboards, and why they are not included on Moscow's composite playbill. Where, to what address, are viewers to be invited to their performances? And it is precisely these theaters, which have begun a bold experiment in self-supporting operations, that especially need broad publicity and the attraction of young people to them. After all, they dream of expanding the sphere of their activities and of going beyond merely staging productions.

S. Kurginyan, head of the Na Doskakh Studio Theater, which is still operating in the premises of a club at a dormitory of the Malaya Gruzinskaya Conservatory but will subsequently move to its own building on Vspolnyy Lane, can already clearly imagine the formation of a broad theatergoing aktiv around his troupe; a young people's cafe and a discussion club could be opened somewhere in a neighboring building, and young people's exhibits could be set up in the theater's spacious closed courtyard.

The Yugo-Zapad Studio Theater, under the direction of V. Belyakovich, also started operating on a self-supporting basis last June. And though it does not belong to the EKhO Association, it also needs publicity, and its performances should also be announced on the city's composite playbill, especially since the theater has a permanent building--at 125 Vernadskiy Prospekt--allocated to it by the Gagarinskiy Rayon Ispolkom, and its repertoire includes more than 15 titles.

And very soon another, sixth new Moscow studio theater, which is headed by O. Tabakov and was formed from among 1980 and 1986 graduates of the State Institute of Theatrical Art imeni A. V. Lunacharskiy who were students of Oleg Pavlovich, will open its doors. Fairly spacious first-floor premises have now been added to a small basement at 1 Chaplygin Street, which was outfitted by studio members themselves back in 1977. They include a lobby, a snack bar, a cloakroom, a lounge for the actors and a rehearsal room; and quarters have also been found for the administrative department. Baumanskiy Rayon has treated the new undertaking with understanding and is giving the theater every assistance.

The birth of a new theatrical organism is no simple matter. At the initial stages of its development it especially needs active assistance and support. And if a theater doesn't even have its own roof over its head, all the greater responsibility for its fate rests with the Main Culture Administration, the Moscow City Soviet Ispolkom and the party and state agencies in the rayon where it is to operate. Young theaters also need support and assistance from the mass media. They will determine how the theatergoer at large receives a new troupe and how he responds to its performances. Moscow's new-born theaters are beginning their difficult road into big-time art with hope and faith.

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CSO: 1800/428

## STATE OF SOVIET MUSIC CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 May 1987 carries on page 2 under the headline "Serious Concern" a 600-word unattributed report on a joint session of the USSR Ministry of Culture and the secretariat of the USSR Composers Union Board to discuss the present state of Soviet music.

According to the report, "serious concern was expressed at the session as regards the state of young people's music and the creativity of numerous rock music groups. In the overwhelming majority of cases, their musical and professional standards cannot withstand any criticism because of the poor quality and lyrics of the songs performed." This is attributable to the "absence of ties with national musical roots and the imitation of what are far from the best examples of Western musical art."

The report goes on to say that "the activity of the State Committee for radio and television broadcasting was subjected to serious criticism. The airwaves today are literally flooded by numerous rock music groups of dubious merit. Following the quite recent artificial ban on rock music, there has emerged an equally artificial leaning in favor of rock music, a leaning which today does not reflect the real objective state of our musical life."

It is reported that a joint resolution has been elaborated "envisaging measures to improve the propaganda of Soviet music and fundamentally improve our musical life."

/12913

CSO: 1800/589

## SHORTCOMINGS FOUND IN TURKMEN VILLAGE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 20 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by G. Tejenova headlined "Village Culture: Urgent Duties" on rural cultural activities in Vekilbazar Rayon. She notes that "there is a wide network of cultural administrations in the rayon. There are 10 workers clubs, 4 houses of culture, 5 automobile clubs, and 29 affiliates of the centralized library system. If you look at the numbers, you would have no doubt that cultural services for the people are organized according to the demands of the present time. But if you were to look closely at the work implemented by the cultural administrations, you would see that there are not just one or two shortcomings, mistakes, and problems awaiting solutions." An investigation revealed that most cultural buildings were closed and in disrepair and that there were, in fact, virtually no cultural amenities at all. She reached the conclusion that "the absence of any kind of measures in this sector in the work plan of the party organization shows that no work is being done to develop village culture."

/6091

CSO: 1830/507

ROLE OF DEFENSE COUNSEL IN LEGAL SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE ENHANCED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by V. Savitskiy, doctor of legal sciences and professor, under the rubric "The Legal System: Paths of Restructuring": "The Prestige of the Defense Counsel"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Defense lawyers, who render legal aid to citizens and organizations, are an important link of the legal system. Activization of their work should hinder many violations of the law and more fully defend the rights and interests of the individual.

Of course, the effectiveness of the defense depends most of all on the political maturity of cadres of the defense profession, their high professionalism, civic courage, and keen sense of justice. All of these qualities are absolutely indispensable for every defense lawyer. Nevertheless there are factors which lie outside the individual personality traits of a defender which still exert a certain influence on his behavior, on his--if you will--psychic mood, when he undertakes to fulfill his difficult obligations.

These factors can be summed up in two words: atmosphere of distrust. It is created by ubiquitous stereotypes like, "Defense lawyers defend known criminals and thus they hinder a successful fight against crime." This sort of judgment is the result of a profound error, an elementary legal ignorance, and serious defects in the legal understanding of the public.

For the situation which has taken shape, we lawyers must accuse ourselves most of all. Few judges, procurators, and investigators manifest the appropriate respect for their colleagues the defense lawyers, or see them as full-fledged participants in the process. This undervaluation of the role of defense lawyers, unfortunately, begins as early as in the VUZ. The study program does not even include a discipline such as "Soviet Defense Law." No wonder, then, that, for example, two-thirds of the students in the law college of Tbilisi University consider the participation of the defense counsel in the court process to be strictly formal, since he has practically no way of influencing the outcome of the case, they say.

And when the graduates of the VUZes, with this psychological mind-set, become judges, procurators, and investigators, it is extremely difficult for them to

revise their attitude toward defense lawyers. The inclination to be accusing which is encountered in the courts, about which much has been said recently, is not only a strict sentence pronounced on an innocent person, but also the distorted, deformed procedure of examining a case. A procedure which attests to the contentious approach of the judge to the defendant: sometimes a judge, without listening all the way through it, denies a petition made to him, strikes a question, and so forth.

A radical change is necessary in the attitude toward the function of the defense itself. The court should view the defense counsel and the procurator as parties with equal rights, demonstrating their truthfulness in a public and open process of controversy.

The slightest deviation from this extremely important principle distorts the very nature of justice. There is nothing which more reduces the honor of the courts than rudeness to one participant in the process and good will towards the other. There are no obstacles on the path toward the truth which are more dangerous than a court's unequal treatment of the statements and petitions of the parties, when the indulgence of personal sympathies or antipathies narrows the chances for finding out the truth, and as a result the sentence becomes at best a reflection of only a half-truth.

One of the reasons for the distorted notion of the purpose and role of the defense counsel is a very superficial knowledge of the true situation of affairs. Very little is written about the problems and concerns of defense, both in the absolute sense and in comparison with other institutions of the law. Little is written because people undervalue the actual and potential capabilities of the defense system to strengthen the regime of rule by law, and people undervalue it because they know little about it and little is written. This vicious circle must be broken. The vital problems of the defense system must be publicly discussed more widely and more often, they must be made a subject of public attention.

Somewhat we have shame-facedly passed silently over widespread instances such as inclusion in the College of Defense Lawyers of former investigators, procurators, and judges who did wrong in their previous jobs. Does the work of a defense lawyer really require less professional experience, personal integrity, and civic courage? Why has the College of Defense Lawyers in a number of places been turned into a sort of haven for servers of justice who have compromised themselves? And this is done not unknown to the authorities, but sometimes even as a result of direct pressure on the part of local leadership organs.

Here a number of complex questions arise concerning the independence and true self-administration of specific institutions such as the College of Defense Lawyers--nongovernmental, professional, voluntary associations. One of these is regulation of the membership of the colleges, and how their staffs are put together. According to the law, resolution of this question lies within the competence of a general gathering of the members of the College of Defense Lawyers. But in practice its membership is determined by the ministries of justice of the union republics. Why, on what grounds? Does this style of leadership really answer the need to develop further the principles of self-

administration in the Soviet political system? As a result of artificial restriction of the numbers of defense lawyers, in the country today there are approximately the same number of them (per capita) as there were in the Russia of 1913, and substantially fewer than in many foreign states. The people who suffer most from this are the citizens whose legal interests the defense system, due to its small numbers, is not in a position to present and defend.

It is incomprehensible that someone should be able to interfere with the expansion of the body of defense lawyers. After all the defense lawyers do not receive a single kopeck from the state, their labor is paid for by their clients. It can be asserted with conviction that not a single College of Defense Lawyers will increase the number of its members by even one if this would lead to a reduction in the existing level of wages.

Incidentally, about that level. It currently does not depend on the quantity and quality of labor. Newly beginning and highly experienced defense lawyers have the identical maximum wages established for them. Therefore there is no material incentive, and wage-leveling flourishes. Efforts to obtain additional remuneration by a defense lawyer are regarded as a gross crime, bringing expulsion from the bar. But this problem can scarcely be resolved by individual disciplinary measures. The client's desire to provide a material incentive for conscientious and highly qualified work from the defense lawyer must be introduced into the legal framework, and placed under the strict control of the college.

The constitutional principle of giving the accused the right to a defense presumes confidential relations between lawyer and defendant, without which legal aid is impossible. This confidentiality is guaranteed by the legally established ban on questioning the defense counsel as a witness concerning circumstances which have been made known to him in connection with fulfilling his duties as a defender.

This seems quite clear. But recently cases have come to light in which certain investigators nevertheless attempted to turn the defense counsel into a witness and thus dismiss him from participating in the case. Such instances have occurred in Moscow, Uzbekistan, and Georgia. They should put us on our guard. After all, in essence what we are talking about is a refined way of getting rid of a defense lawyer who demonstrates too much "persistence," revealing the holes, contradictions, and other shortcomings of the preliminary inquest. And what is even worse than the fact that this method is in gross contradiction to the law, it leads to undermining of the confidential relations between defense lawyer and defendant--that is, it in effect discredits the entire institution of defense.

Yet another step must be taken in order to guarantee the accused a full right to a defense. As is well known, the reasons for many judicial errors are rooted in the use of illicit methods of conducting an investigation. And this becomes possible, in particular, because the defense lawyer practically does not participate at all in the preliminary inquest. In the overwhelming majority of cases he first sees the defendant and becomes acquainted with the materials of the case only after the end of the inquiry. It turns out that in the most crucial moment, when the accusation is being formulated, searches,

examinations, and other investigative actions are being carried out, and even when the accused is being taken into custody, he does not have the opportunity to consult a defense attorney.

It would seem that in all criminal cases the defense attorney should have the right to participate in the process from the moment an accusation is brought against a citizen or from the moment of his arrest. Then it will be impossible for any sort of psychological or physical pressure to be put on the accused in order to force him to provide the "necessary" testimony. The ground will also be knocked out from underneath other illegal tricks.

It is true that there is a danger that activation of the defense during the preliminary inquest may provoke just as active a counteraction on the part of certain investigators. After all, even now, when the rights of the defense lawyer are limited, we encounter attempts to discredit an active defense lawyer, make him more submissive, and discourage him and his colleagues from the desire to criticize shortcomings of the investigation publicly, in the press. This is the only way to explain the removal of the registration cards of a number of well-known defense lawyers in the Moscow City College of Defense Lawyers after many years of work. This mass removal has a narrow departmental goal--to search out by any means compromising materials on one defense lawyer or another, to show that he received an honorarium above the fixed price. The "press" exerted by this means forces even the most uncompromising defense attorney to lose heart. As a result, not only the defense attorney suffers but the achievement of the truth and the justice of the verdict are threatened....

Yes, defense attorneys have many difficult problems. Many of them they must solve themselves. It is necessary to control more carefully the quality of work of each defense lawyer and react more sharply to any instances of violations of defense ethics. But these steps will not bring success if radical measures are not undertaken to raise the prestige of the defense system, and teach respect for its far from easy duties.

12255

CSO: 1800/473

## MOSCOW CITES SCIENTISTS ON CRIME PREVENTION MEASURES

LD121634 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 12 May 87

[Text] A socialist countries' criminological congress opened in Moscow today. Its participants will discuss how to increase the contribution of academic legal experts to the all-round improvement of socialist social relations, the formation of the new man, strengthening socialist law and order, and increasing the drive against antisocial phenomena. TASS correspondents talked to the famous Soviet legal expert Igor Ivanovich Karpets, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the Study of the Causes of and the Elaboration of Measures to Prevent Crime at the USSR Procuracy [Bureau records list Karpets as collegium member of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs].

The scientists noted that the thorough measures for the moral improvement of society adopted in our country are yielding results in the legal sphere. In 1986 the overall number of crimes decreased, and dangerous ones such as premeditated murder, the infliction of previous bodily harm, robbery, theft, and rape decreased by 20-30 percent. This is convincing evidence of socialism's significant and real resources for carrying out a successful drive against crime. However, there is as yet no radical breakthrough. This means that for the time being there is a failure to engage the whole huge potential of society in active work on preventing crimes: This has to be admitted. For a long period there was the optimistic opinion that crime, in conditions of socialism, was comparatively easy to overcome and was steadily declining and becoming less of a danger for society. For the sake of objectivity it must be said that there were undoubtedly preconditions for this, but notice should have also been taken of the other processes which were bringing about the presence per se of crime and making its nature more complex, and at times also more dangerous. Attention should have been resolutely paid at an earlier stage to the deterioration in the economic situation and the degradation of a certain category of people, while the shortcomings in the social sphere and in educational work should have been analyzed more deeply.

If one is to talk about the nature of crime in our country in its overall form, then alongside a decrease in the number of crimes of a violent nature, we are dealing at the same time with increased mercenary crime, which has

sometimes moved to the upper echelons of economic and other managers, which is particularly dangerous. Therefore the problem of the link between economic relations and crime must be subjected to deep study. Talking about a phenomenon such as the criminality of minors, the scientist said that the new trends in this type of crime are clearly visible. The influence of adult criminals on minors is manifesting itself more vividly, especially those who commit mercenary crimes, and not just the influence of criminals, but, in general, carriers of private-ownership views, individualism, and complete moral licence.

In our country the number of crimes by minors is dropping, but these are mainly violent crimes, rather than mercenary ones. We cannot shut out eyes to the fact that we are dealing with outbreaks of certain forms of violence from groups of adolescents who are imitating the worst Western examples. Nor can one fail to take into account the growth of drug addiction among young people. Therefore the problem of the deep study of young people's trends and their phenomena, which are closely connected to infringing the law and committing crimes, must be at the center of the attention of academic legal experts. In conclusion, the scientists noted that criminology today must reinterpret a number of principles and theoretical concepts in the direction of their connection to practice. That is the only way we will be able to help the state and society in resolving the tasks ahead at a critical period.

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CSO: 1800/625

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR EXAMINED

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST in Russian No 10, 1986 pp 45-46

[Article by M. Golodenko, Sumy Oblast senior assistant procurator and SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST stringer, under "Exchange of Experience" rubric: "Parental Responsibility for Bringing Up Their Children"]

[Text] If we are to stop or even prevent adolescents from violating the law, we need to find out all the reasons causing and contributing to their unlawful behavior and to these situations. As practice has shown, there are a great many such reasons and situations. We also find feeble preventive efforts on the part of the commissions and inspectorates for minors' affairs, shortcomings in the educational work of our academic institutions, laxity in the part played by the labor collectives, no organization of minors' leisure time, the "influence of the streets" (even though the street is a public place), poor supervision on the part of parents and disregard of their primary responsibility as stipulated in Article 66 of the USSR Constitution.

But randomly-conducted nation-wide inspections made by certain district procurators in the Sumy Oblast revealed that the irresponsible attitude of parents towards raising their children was given too little criticism by appropriate agencies, organizations, labor collectives and the public.

The inspections convinced the oblast procuratorship that more supervision was needed to see that laws aimed at preventing violations by minors are observed and that the procurator's positive experience was needed in other oblasts.

We put the problem in this way: a minor's parents or surrogates must answer equally for each case of unlawful behavior on the part of said minor. For example, it used to be that when adopting decrees on sending juvenile offenders to special institutions, commissions on minors' affairs made no official announcement of public reprimand to the parents, nor was there any mention of imposing fines. The commissions explained their liberalism by the fact that the parents had been morally punished and moreover they had to pay for their children to be kept in special educational institutions.

Nowadays, following our intervention, they are taking the effective measures called for in Article 19 of the Statute on Commissions for Minors' Affairs.

The commissions have begun asking the courts to deprive the rights of parents who persistently fail to meet their child-rearing obligations.

Speaking of city and rayon-level commissions, we are also aware of a major flaw in their activities, which was brought to light by the procurator's offices. They have displayed obvious passivity, even though they are supposed to unite and coordinate the efforts of all concerned agencies and institutions, the public and our teachers to work with minors in their homes and bring unhappy families back to normal.

In developing measures aimed at preventing the non-supervision of minors and to keep them from breaking the law, most of the commissions have failed to plan out their work with those parents who have forgotten their parental duty, and who have been bad examples or have been incapable of teaching their own children to behave properly.

One-on-one talks between commission members and representatives of the concerned agencies and institutions with juvenile offenders were extremely rare, and even more so with their parents. This is unfortunate, as this procedure produces tangible results in practice. Face-to-face talks dispose people to frankness, making it possible to bring to light more fully and in more detail a family's moral climate, how the parents conduct themselves and the sort of attention they give to their children.

Three years have passed since the adoption of the Labor Collectives' Law. Article 17 of the Law says that the labor collective must take an active part in creating conditions which will strengthen family ties and improve the manner in which children are brought up, and should collective members stray from meeting their parental obligations or bring up their children in an unsanctioned manner, then appropriate effective measures are to be taken against them. However, checks made by the procurators' offices showed that many enterprises and organizations are not exercising these powers.

This can be explained by the fact that far from all labor collectives have information concerning family situations or child-raising attitudes at their disposal. Nor, of course, are unhappy families taken into consideration, and negligent parents are worked with only as a follow-up to reports from commissions or inspectorates on juvenile affairs.

This is why it so frequently turns out that a labor collective member with an alcohol abuse problem who fails to bring up his children is on the official record for a very long time, and his collective knows nothing about it.

Moreover, some of the information held by the Commission on Juvenile Affairs concerning violations of the law committed by the children of members of labor collectives has not yet been examined.

Sometimes the commissions fail to forward information to the parents' workplaces about materials they have examined, which is a breach of Article 37 of the Statute. Nor do they check with the enterprises and organizations to

see that Article 17 of the Labor Collectives' Law is being observed. At their meetings they fail to hear the accounts of the officials concerning efforts to make parents more responsible for the upbringing of their children.

During our inspections, we find out why no one has submitted petitions aimed at depriving parents of their rights and taking children away from drunkards and sending them to ATP's [alcohol treatment centers]. We intend to institute disciplinary procedures against officials tolerating such negligent acts.

The reorganization now underway of our general-education and trade schools has obliged the pedagogical collectives associated with our educational institutions not only to bring about a cardinal improvement in academic and educative work, but to influence the family-related upbringing of the students as well by helping parents and putting pressure on parents who disregard their parental responsibilities.

But unfortunately not all the oblast educational institutes' pedagogical collectives place enough emphasis on working with parents. Instead, they display a condescending attitude to those who neglect their children, and fail to inform the labor collectives about them. Little is gained from the public assemblies held at educational institutions to discuss ways to influence the parents of those children who attend these schools, who conduct themselves improperly and break the law.

Having analyzed the results of the inspections, the oblast procurator took steps to eliminate the shortcomings in the work done by the commissions for juvenile affairs, labor collectives, pedagogical collectives of educational institutions, other concerned agencies and institutions and the efforts made at the public assemblies. It was suggested that rayon and city procurators' offices see that the measures provided for in the law be more effectively applied to parents and parental surrogates who fail to carry out their child rearing responsibilities.

The making public of events of interest to the community is an important part of our work. The problem has been put this way: every crime committed by a minor must be discussed at the collective employing the minor's parents. It must be absolutely clear that this is to be done immediately following the institution of criminal proceedings, and in other cases--after the sentence of the court has begun.

We demand that city and rayon procurators inform collectives of the most urgent criminal matters, and that this be done by investigators and employees of inspectorates for juvenile affairs concerning all other matters. The oblast procurator, his deputies and other employees of the oblast procuratorship will also take part in this.

Thus, concerning the case of a serious crime committed in the city of Putivl by the youths Privalov, Pikuza and Zuyev--a robbery-motivated attack which resulted in murder--the oblast procurator organized discussions in the organizations where the juveniles' parents were employed. The workers and office workers, who had been notified beforehand, took the discussion seriously, expressed their attitude about what had happened and were helpful

in looking into the particular reasons for the crime and the conditions which fostered it. And at the meeting of the district national education department, speakers told the mother of one of the ringleaders of the delinquents that the mistakes she had made in bringing up her son were incompatible with her position at work. She admitted that the criticism was warranted and asked to be relieved of her post.

The procurator has come up with an effective way to combat juvenile crime, which consists in organizing out-of-town sessions of juvenile affairs commissions for the purpose of discussing parental attitudes toward the rearing of their children. Procurators are required to take part in these meetings.

A group of minors committed acts of hooliganism in one of the villages. Since their acts entailed no serious consequences, no criminal charges were pressed. But, considering the need for preventive measures and to influence the offenders' parents, the full juvenile affairs commission of the rayon executive committee travelled to the village and held an out-of-town session in the school auditorium. They discussed in detail the reasons the youths had committed hooliganism, what had contributed to this, the manner of the youths' family upbringing etc. The commission concluded that eight of the parents of the juveniles should be fined. Village residents saw with their own eyes the results of raising children carelessly and what happens when their behavior is not controlled. A spokesman of the oblast procurator's office and the rayon procurator participated in the meeting.

We are passing the results of the inspections, particularly those concerning flagrant law violations, on to the Party and Soviet organs and are using the materials of the general inspections to prepare and conduct coordinated interdepartmental conferences.

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CSU: 1830/369

DRUG ADDICTION QUESTIONED AS ILLNESS OR CRIME

Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian No 10, 9-15 Mar 87 p 9

[Interview with section chief of the Moscow Procuracy V. Rudnev by V. Gatov: "Drug Addiction: Crime or Disease?"]

[Text] We received quite a few responses to our interview of Kazakh deputy minister of internal affairs E. Basarov (NEDEL'YA, No 47, 1986, "Triumph Over Evil") in which an attempt was made to analyze the reasons that incite drug addicts to violate the law. Does not the law itself provide a solid shield for this antisocial phenomenon? -- is a question that was raised in many of the readers' letters received by the editors after the publication of the interview with E. Basarov.

We turned to section chief of the Moscow Procuracy V. Rudnev for further elucidation.

[Answer] First of all, I would refer to the ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 25, 1974 "On an Intensified Struggle Against Drug Addiction." That ukase provides that drug addict patients are obligated to undergo treatment at special therapeutic-prophylactic institutions. But if the addict evades such treatment, then by court order he is sent to a therapeutic-labor treatment center (juveniles are sent to a therapeutic-training treatment center).

Here are few more characteristic provisions of the law: The use of narcotics without a physician's prescription is punishable by a 50-ruble fine. The theft of narcotics, their illegal manufacture, acquisition, storage, and trafficking are all punishable crimes, as are violations of regulations regarding the production, inventory, and delivery of narcotics.

Also punishable by law is the organization and maintenance of dens, tendency to abuse narcotics, and the sowing and cultivation of addictive plants and crops whose cultivation has been prohibited. The punishment for these crimes can be very severe -- up to 15 years of imprisonment.

Let's proceed further. The law on marriage and family allows such a person to be deprived of parental rights. If it is established that a drug addict is putting his family into serious financial difficulties, the court can declare

him to be of limited capability and appoint a guardian with all the subsequent consequences that such action might entail.

As you can see, the law deals rather severely with violators.

[Question] Nevertheless, is a drug addict a criminal or some one who is sick?

[Answer] In accordance with the previously mentioned ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 1974, the use of narcotics is interpreted (and is punishable, accordingly) variously. In Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia inveterate addicts are considered to be criminals. Criminal sentences passed against them can go so far as imprisonment. Narcotics abuse in the Russian Federation is an administrative misdemeanor. Still, these regional differences do not answer the question for us: Is the drug addict a criminal or someone who is ill? Only after having decided whether to treat drug addicts or to hold them criminally responsible can one work out an effective strategy to combat this evil. Today's situation in which the drug addict is simultaneously an addict and a sick person, compels us to give considerable thought to this question.

Incidentally, note that alcoholism and drug addiction are found in the same clause in some laws. But our attitude towards a chronic alcoholic who does not disrupt public order is the same as toward a sick person. We don't fine them nor do we send them to a work colony, but we treat them. The attitude toward a drug addict is different. You must agree, the very fact that he is made answerable frightens him and forces him to refine his methods of obtaining and using drugs. The illness worsens, progresses, and becomes irreversible.

[Question] Does that mean that an addict is after all a sick person?

[Answer] In my opinion, yes. I believe that such an attitude toward people who have become dependent upon drugs is more effective than punishment. The drug addict needs help (like any sick person) in developing resistance to "narcotic pressing." This first of all can be done through the purposeful training of professional narcologists and the opening of out-patient centers and hospitals for anonymous treatment. If, however, an inveterate drug addict refuses treatment, then he should be held answerable without fail. Moreover, it is essential to make a thorough identification of those who lure people into the abyss of drug addiction. Such persons should be identified and punished in the strictest possible manner provided by the law. This is a principal condition in the struggle against this terrible social evil.

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CSU: 1800/450

PROSTITUTION ACKNOWLEDGED AS SOCIAL PROBLEM

AU051432 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 26 Apr 87 p 4

[Report by O. Milkus and O. Chernetsky, Odessa: "Night Butterflies--The Way to Crime Starts With Moral Degradation"]

[Excerpts] Until recently, we used to close our eyes shyly to instances of drug addiction. What this "delicateness" led to is already known.... But here another problem, new food for thought, has cropped up, a problem which, even a year or two ago, some people were trying to keep forcibly under "seven locks": prostitution. And when the "secret" came out, law enforcement organs and physicians have now definitely classified prostitution as a problem of our times and have placed it side by side with addiction to drugs and other intoxicants. And this is not mere chance: Female representatives of "the first and oldest profession" do not take second place to followers of "white death" either in numbers or in social effects....

We had been trying for too long to persuade ourselves and others that we had no grounds for apprehension, that we were immune to negative phenomena. (Even a year ago, a highly respected lawyer called data concerning prostitution tentatively selected cases.) In the meantime, behind the screen of shy silence, "girls" were already openly lining up at the doors of foreign-currency bars, chasing foreigners at piers, organizing dens of iniquity, and perverting teenagers....

The trouble is probably that for a long time we were professing one thing, confessing another, and practicing still another. Hence there was skepticism with regard to moral bases. And all this primarily hit those who lacked sufficient experience in life, let alone resistance: teenagers. It is not mere chance that, in recent times, a trend toward "rejuvenation" has been noted among prostitutes, a growing number of teenagers....

Well, it turns out that those trading in flesh have their own strict hierarchy. There are two basic groups: "professionals" and "amateurs." Whereas the former do not conceal the source of their income and proudly stroll in restaurants, the latter try to keep out of sight of the militia and "service" their customers "at home" or, more correctly, in dormitories.

"We are at a loss what to do with them," L.M. Shchetinin, dean in charge of foreign students at the Odessa Polytechnical Institute, said. "There are bars in the windows of ground-floor rooms in the dormitory, there are people's squad volunteers on duty at the entrance, but they climb anyhow. I caught one girl climbing up the lightning rod to the third floor.... And who are those climbers? Girls from secondary or vocational-technical schools, students...."

Militiamen work hard to establish at least a semblance of order. But they are actually helpless. The article setting out punishments for prostitution was canceled in the Criminal Code a long time ago. Here and there, militiamen have been trying to make the culprits accountable for pestering foreigners. But the highest penalty an article of the Administrative Code provides for that is a fine of R50. There were also attempts to bring the culprits to account for sponging or for violating registration regulations. But they managed to clear themselves.

They do not ponder that what they sell is not their flesh alone. It was bitter to listen to a foreign seaman: "Oh, the Soviet Union is a wonderful country! Film shows, wine, and girls are cheap here."

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CSO: 1811/43

ANONYMOUS LETTER EXPOSES DRUG USE BY TURKMEN PARTY MEMBERS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 6 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,100-word article by SOVET TURKMENISTANY special correspondent A. Yusubova about an anonymous letter to the newspaper alleging drug use by party members in Bayram-Aliy Rayon. According to the letter, two party members at the "Turkmenistan" kolkhoz were known drug users; the kolkhoz chairman was also involved in the drug ring. In response to the reporter's inquiries, the Bayram-Aliy party secretary claimed that the two party members had taken medication containing narcotics, and that allegations against the kolkhoz chairman were groundless. Further investigation revealed that the accused party members were in fact drug users and had been placed under medical care. Pursuing her story at the rayon MVD, the reporter found that several party members had been apprehended and removed from the party during the past year.

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CSO: 1830/504

## SHORTCOMINGS IN TURKMEN HOUSING LAWS HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 7 February 1987 carries on page 3 an 800-word article by A. Rakhmanov, deputy chairman of the Ashkhabad Oblast court, headlined "Citizens and the Residential Housing Question" on the role played by housing law violations in the allocation of living quarters. "The need to improve living conditions and to guarantee the citizens housing basically depends on the fulfillment of housing construction plans. However, shortcomings permitted in some places in the use of the residential housing inventory and in the accounting of vacant housing complicate the issue. One often comes across instances when vacant dwellings are incorrectly accounted for, cases of illegal occupation of housing, and situations where housing is incorrectly distributed." He contends that a basic problem lies in Article 66 of the TuSSR Housing Code, which allows a family to retain an old dwelling for 6 months after they have moved to a new location. He cites many cases where poor controls over this type of situation have led to housing law violations.

## TuSSR: KOLKHOZ ATTEMPTS TO MOBILIZE WOMEN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 20 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,000-word report by J. Annaorazov headlined "We Must Mobilize" claiming that a kolkhoz in Oktyabr Rayon is making strides in mobilizing women as part of a reconstruction of its organization. "Women have always been a basic force on the kolkhoz. But the work of the women's council was never satisfactorily organized. They were never able to produce a work plan or a protocol of measures passed. If the party organization were to reconstruct the work of the women's council, it would contribute both to heightening women's activism and to introducing new traditions on the kolkhoz." The party organization's inability to do this in the past is explained by its "not paying enough attention to the activism of candidates for CPSU membership who were accepted into the party ranks." It is added that two women accepted as candidate members in 1985 were found to "not have fulfilled work minimums."

## TASHAUZ TRADE NETWORK RIDDLED WITH CORRUPTION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 700-word report issued by the TuSSR People's Control Committee on major shortcomings unearthed in the Tashauz Oblast trade network;

the title of the report is "We Must Put an End to Shortcomings in Trade." It points out that investigations conducted by the oblast trade administration are "done in an extremely superficial manner, documents which should be filled out are not, and no relevant measures are being taken." Citing numerous instances of cheating customers, overcharging, concealing goods, and falsifying state prices, the TuSSR People's Control Committee concluded that "total sums involved in embezzlement and theft were significantly greater last year than the year before."

#### VEGETABLE 'MIDDLEMEN' EXPOSED AT TURKMEN KOLKHOZ MARKET.

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 4 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by G. Bayramov headlined "Middlemen at the Market" describing a recent investigation of vendors at the Mary kolkhoz market. The "middlemen," all women, are people living on kolkhozes who are allocated private plots (which they do not use) and who "buy vegetables grown by neighbors cheaply and sell them at the market expensively." The reporter claims that "these middlemen exploit the fact that kolkhozes, which are supposed to supply the population with food, have been unable to fulfill the duties set before them." The products involved are primarily fruits and vegetables.

#### SHORTCOMINGS NOTED IN PATRIOTIC EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 25 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word leading editorial on the importance of providing youth with a patriotic education headlined "Let's Train Patriots." It points out that "in some schools in our republic shortcomings in providing students with a patriotic and internationalistic education are being permitted. The potential of certain school subjects for patriotic education are not being fully exploited. The images of heroes in literature classes are poorly analyzed from the patriotic education point of view." Similar criticism is directed at the teaching of history, geography, biology, chemistry, and physics. It is also claimed that the elementary military education courses "confine themselves to giving only theoretical information."

#### TURKMEN TEACHERS URGED TO SET GOOD EXAMPLES FOR YOUTH

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 4 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 900-word lead editorial on the importance of teachers setting good examples for their students headlined "Personal Example." It points out that "while there is some good work being done on the question of setting a personal example, one cannot say that the general situation is satisfactory. A number of older adults are forgetting that students and children model themselves after adults. There are many such adults who have acquired bad habits such as viewing their work with indifference, being mercenary, toadyism, hypocrisy, and lying. They are forgetting that every one of these unacceptable actions takes place in front of children. While such habits are never good, they are especially inappropriate for education workers."

#### TURKMEN FAMILIES IN AMUR OBLAST HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 14 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by S. Ovezov, chief of the TuSSR department of the State Labor Committee, headlined "Amur Oblast Awaits You" highlighting successes achieved by Turkmen families who had migrated to Amur Oblast. Emphasizing the superior wages and other benefits awaiting new Turkmen migrants to Siberia and the Far East, he points out that "more than 800 families from our republic have moved to Amur Oblast. Most of these families are settled on oblast enterprises, and are taking part in mastering these rayons and diligently speeding up their socioeconomic growth." Detailing other benefits of such a move, Ovezov adds that "republic organs responsible for providing job placement to the population stay in close touch with families which have moved to Amur Oblast and regularly follow their placement, work and living conditions."

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CSO: 1830/508

BUREAUCRACY, PAROCHIAL INTERESTS LED TO BAYKAL POLLUTION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by Valentin Rasputin, Irkutsk: "What We Have...: Baykal Prologue Without an Epilogue"]

[Excerpts] For many years we fought against diverting the northern and Siberian rivers. Too much was at stake with this card, the physical map of our country: millions of square kilometers of Russian land, on which irreparable changes would occur.

There are things which, under any circumstances and despite any differences of opinion, should be preserved as a constant value -- like a meter or a kilogram. The thing that should frighten us most of all is the fact that, in substantiating their actions, both sides -- both the side in favor of diversion and those against it -- used one and the same phraseology in reference to the Homeland. Dozens of construction-planning institutes, tens of thousands of people who had been drawn into serving the diversion mechanism, hundreds of millions of rubles of expended money -- all all of this was done without thinking the situation out, hurriedly, without sufficient advice by experts, without sufficient economic confirmations. For embezzling a thousand rubles a person is taken to court, but we are talking about hundreds of millions of rubles and tens of thousands of seduced people who, after the adoption of the governmental decree concerning the stoppage of the operations, considered themselves to be unjustly aggrieved and cheated out of their fair share. And what happened? Did anyone receive any punishment for this gigantic waste of money, for the arbitrariness of the century? Did even a tiny little hair fall from anyone's head? No.

We are not the owners of the national field, but only the plowmen on it, to obtain sustenance and blessings from it. The land is the creator and nourisher of the nation, it is the nation's perpetual refuge, its only abode, to which nothing can be added from the outside. And when there appear among the nation those people who feel that the land is organized incorrectly and must be altered, then what is dangerous is not that they appear, but that we allow ourselves to follow them as though they are prophets. It was not without purpose that recently we have heard the warning: those who come after us will not forgive us. In Russia they will not forgive Lake Baykal and the Volga; in Belorussia, Polesye; in Armenia, Lake Sevan; in the Ukraine, the

Dnepr and Chernobyl; in Latvia, the Daugava -- everywhere, everywhere, everywhere... The future plowmen will not forgive our wastefulness or our unsober actions. Departmental expansionism, after being inflated or suppressed, will explode sometime, and then what will its rumination be good for?

With the different points for computing what is beneficial for the Motherland and what is harmful (let us assume that everything has been mixed in the home of domestic benefit), let us try to examine how the participants in the bold nature-diverting plans operate. Their work means and methods, as a rule, say a lot. We shall not be simpletons and make conclusions that can settle our dispute. The construction plan has not been approved for execution, it has not received the government's "okay," the pros and cons are still being considered, but the operations are beginning. And not simply beginning, but being accelerated, hurried up, extended far and wide; attempts are being made to secure financing, personnel, materials -- hurry up, hurry up, before people come to their senses, before they realize what's going on, but get the government all tied up in expenditures, after which the only left to do is just wave your hand in desperation. That is how it was the "project of the century" -- the diversion of the rivers. That is how it is being done today in Mountain Altay, where Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification], without waiting for approval of the plan, has been starting up the construction of hydroelectric power stations on the Katun. The Baykal Woodpulp and Paper Combine was built in 1966, but its final construction assignment was not approved until years after the enterprise had been activated. These examples could be continued.

The situation with Lake Baykal reminds us of the plot of a play that is so cunningly contrived that the spectator cannot fail to be surprised at the actors' skill. It seems that finally the entire situation will become apparent, that events will reach the denouement, and the complete truth will be revealed -- but no, time after time, new characters appear, new appeals, new motivations, and the action again reaches such a peak that one's heart skips a beat. But Lake Baykal continues to suffer. In February 1986 a government commission was created, in order to prepare recommendations for protecting our "glorious sea." The commission chairman, USSR Gosplan Chairman N. V. Talyzin, during the discussion of the Baykal problem in Irkutsk, said without any excessive diplomacy, "At the present time it is obvious even to a fool that a woodpulp combine should not be built on Lake Baykal." And yet the chief and constant defender -- not of Lake Baykal, as one would expect of a scientist, but of the combines, including the Selenginskiy Woodpulp and Cardboard Combine -- Academician N. M. Zhavoronkov, sat in front of N. V. Talyzin at a session of the most recent commission and again decided the fate of Lake Baykal. There is no need to explain how, despite the obvious situation, he decided it.

That there is no place on Lake Baykal for combines was obvious even then, back in the 1960's, when the question about what to use Lake Baykal for was being finally resolved. There was probably no one, even among the economic administrators, who took seriously the "scientific" arguments that the production of woodpulp would only enhance the water of Lake Baykal because, they asserted, that water in its natural state was insufficiently mineralized

and was not safe to drink. But the departmental juggernaut that has been gathering speed has apparently given itself the goal of not turning away from Lake Baykal. There were no special problems with lawyers, and one can always find specialists who are ready to support anything that you want to have supported. However, it is currently easiest to pile all the blame for the combines upon departmental stubbornness. No, for the first time apparently this would mean a force that is much more serious and much more extensive than those who have a self-interestedness in the output. The output, incidentally, played an inhibiting role in the development of the tire industry. The government suffers losses from the tires produced from Baykal cellulose instead of synthetic material.

Twenty years ago former party worker in Irkutsk P. Katsuba, speaking from the podium, accused the protectors of Lake Baykal of being accomplices of imperialism. That's right: no more, no less. There's nothing worse you could say, and any less wouldn't have had an impact. On the east bank of Lake Baykal, the people seized upon that logic: whoever is against the woodpulp combine is an enemy of the Buryat nation. When people use arguments like that, the hands and the tongue immediately drop, and the Russian language in general is poorly adapted to long-range crossfire of this kind. But now nothing remains except, when remembering this, to frown in disgust, but yet it happened. Everything happened and they got their way. They made no bones about it. It was as though it was not only their own and their only land, but on someone else's land, that the two forces had come together, each of which asserted its own understanding of civilization. And if nature itself did not interfere in the dispute, alternately presenting first here, then there, for testimony the fruits of the mechanical "enlightenment," it is still unknown to what heights the discussion would have risen. Today it is necessary to change the tone, although the essence of the goal and the job at hand could not change from allegory and demagoguery. The frank technocrat currently is like a drunkard who is completely aware that he should not take even a single drop anymore, that it's not an either-or situation, but nevertheless, for a momentary "high," he reaches for the bottle, and is knocked for a loop.

Early last year, Minlesbumprom minister M. I. Busygin, in response to a request by IZVESTIYA, agreed to have a meeting with me. The topic of discussion was Lake Baykal and the Baykal Woodpulp Combine, which for a long time had been a stumbling block, the talk of the town, and a "Trojan horse" -- it had become many things in the argument about Lake Baykal, but there it stood. During our discussion the minister quoted a fact that was supposed to prove the department's concern for Lake Baykal: during the 20 years of operation at the combine, the PDK (maximum admissible concentrations) in the industrial runoff had been changed six times. I did not know, and I accepted it at face value, but the minister could not have failed to know that they had been changed far from always in favor of Lake Baykal, but had been adapted to the combine's purification capabilities. Under the openness conditions, much that used to be secret is becoming clear today, but the departmental machine continues, in discussions with public opinion, to count in its customary way on two types of information: open when it concerns its successes, and closed when it concerns the unfulfilled areas.

Former worker at Energobumprom, current retiree Galina Konstantinovna Suslova wrote to me that as long ago as 1974 she had been instructed to compute the losses of mineral salts in the soda-regeneration boilers at the Baykal Combine. It would compute them and then, when she looked at the report, she would see that the alkali losses had proven to be one-tenth as much. The report was prepared at the combine, but it went to the ministry, and there it was probably used many times by the ministry to prove that its production did not represent any hazard.

After this, should one be surprised at the innocent figure that the share of the Baykal Combine in the total pollution of the lake allegedly constitutes slightly more than one percent? Many years ago the warning against this kind of formalistic, quantitative approach was issued by Academician P. L. Kapitsa. Speaking in 1966 at a joint session of the USSR Gosplan board, the board of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, he said, "From the data cited by the commission of experts, it follows that the polluted water dumped into Lake Baykal from the woodpulp combine has a completely different chemical composition than the water entering the lake from the rivers emptying into it... Thus, even a small quantity of poisonous pollution from the woodpulp combines can cause the complete breakdown of the favorable equilibrium and can completely destroy the purity of the lake."

And the situation is close to that. However zealous the departmental science may be, in the person of the institute of ecological toxicology (more than a hundred persons) that stands like a retaining wall alongside the combine for the purpose of proving the opposite, there are too many facts that confirm that the combine is not such a babe in the woods as as people attempt to represent it. The destruction of the "epishura," the basic biological purifier of the water in Lake Baykal, and of other endemic species; the famous "omul," which is now only one-half its previous weight and size; the tens of thousands of hectares of forests that are drying out as a result of acid rain; and the hundreds of thousands of hectares of forests that have been damaged -- all these things are the result of its actions.

Beginning this year, Lake Baykal will breathe more easily. The government is planning a tremendous comprehensive program to preserve its forests and water. But the ministry stands like a mountain in favor of the combine. It will be necessary at some time to respecialize it, but the deadlines are being postponed to the next five-year plan or, according to the computations of those who want to save the lake, farther and farther away. As a temporary measure, it is recommended that the industrial runoff be taken away by a pipeline and dumped into the Irkut River. It is not difficult to see the intention of these plans: to make what is temporary permanent. But is paying millions of rubles for a life preserver really the most efficient solution? Wouldn't it be better, without any intermediate decisions, without any expensive supports, without any casuistic arguments, to admit once and for all: we have made a mistake, but we will correct it. Our time has already loaded upon itself this heavy burden. Lake Baykal is worth having us take decisive steps to protect it. The removal of industrial runoff will not resolve the problem completely, toxic effluent will remain, and, according to specialists, it will not be possible to make the effluent completely safe.

And now can one believe a ministry which long ago made it a rule not to fulfill its environmental-protection promises? It would not fulfill them, and that was all there was to it. The closed cycle of water use at the Selenginsk Woodpulp and Cardboard Combine which was planned for 1980 is still lost somewhere among the paperwork. The yeast production which, as long ago as the time when the state commission for Lake Baykal was in operation, was recommended to be closed down at the Baykal Combine in August, was stopped under scandalous conditions quite recently.

Oh, those state interests! They were brandished when the combines were being built, they were displayed when, from year to year, the combines were being defended, and people are continuing to resort to them now. Gosplan gives assurances that the country cannot get along with the Baykal woodpulp, that without that woodpulp the country will be practically doomed to destruction. But this is what USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and tire specialist V. F. Yevstratov says: the Soyuzshina Association plans in 1990 to use only 10,000 tons of viscose cord, but it is being required to accept 80,000 tons. And will there also be any leftovers for the other branches? Won't that be enough to stop tomorrow the production that is so pernicious for Lake Baykal? Or what about distributing its capacities among other enterprises?

We might recall that at the beginning of the war all the vitally important industry which actually determined whether the country would exist or not exist was transferred from the west to the east in only a few months. I allow myself to make this comparison because within the very near future the clean water of Lake Baykal may prove for us to be a value of no less importance for our salvation.

"What we have but do not preserve, we cry about when we have lost it." That old Russian proverb did not even suspect the global, worldwide ramifications of its truth. It is in the state interests currently, first of all, to return to man his faith in the common sense and moral foundation of everything in which we engage.

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DEBATE ON PRIOZERSKIY CELLULOSE PLANT OPERATIONS AIRED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by V. Gerasimov, PRAVDA Leningrad correspondent, under the rubric "Returning to What Was Printed": "At the Maximum Limit"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] V. Stepanko, chairman of the ispolkom of the Priozerskiy city soviet, could not gain control of himself and immediately transfer to another train in order to go back home. He felt too bad. What would he tell the people back home, the people in whose interests he had left no stone unturned at the departments in the capital? V. Stepanko left the terminal and went to the PRAVDA correspondent's office in Leningrad. He opened up a thick portfolio of his Moscow notes.

"This," he said, "is where I've been."

He had been at the economic-planning department of Minlesbumprom (Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry). He had seen the deputy minister. He had been at a Gosplan subdepartment. At a department of USSR Council of Ministers. Then back to Gosplan. He had seen Minister M. I. Susygin. He could not complain about any of them. Everyone had received him pleasantly. It is just that the question never became any clearer. It just kept getting more and more complicated.

"The woodpulp plant," Stepanko continued, "was stopped in October 1986 and since then it has not been producing any output. By the minister's order it has been transferred, as of 1 March, to the Sevzapnebel Association and is being respecialized for the manufacture of wood-chip slabs. But no one has cancelled the plan for the production of woodpulp. The minister is sympathetic, but he says that the products list is within Gosplan's competency. From there, in the same manner, we are sent to Minlesbumprom, and told to find out for ourselves. And the people at the ministry state confidently that the draft version of a new order has been prepared -- starting 1 May, the woodpulp plant will again be in operation at half-capacity! Does that mean that more harm is going to be inflicted on Lake Ladoga?"

To put it bluntly, this question is by no means a rhetorical one. In a letter published in PRAVDA on 11 November 1986, which was written by a group of Leningrad specialists and eminent scientists and given the headline "Will Lake Ladoga Stay Alive?", the question had already been raised rather sharply. I might remind the reader what the topic of that letter was. As a result of economic activities (or rather, to put it more precisely, uneconomic activities) by the enterprises in the lake's drainage area which belong to various departments, the water in the lake was being seriously polluted. Moreover, almost 76 percent of noxious runoff was being dumped into the lake by the technological units in the woodpulp and paper industry. The environmental-protection measures were being carried out wretchedly by the branch. A completely intolerable situation had developed in Priozersk by autumn of last year. For decades the woodpulp plant there had been dumping noxious runoff without any attempt at purification -- first into the Vuoksa, and then into Lake Drozdovo, which is separated from Lake Ladoga only by a narrow isthmus. The lake had perished, turning into a stinking swamp. The highly toxic liquid had filled the cesspool lake completely and then begun to flow into Lake Ladoga. A spot of pollution had approached the sources of the Neva, from which Leningrad gets its water supply. But the enterprise disregarded the urgent pleas of the sanitation physicians.

The published item caused a lively response. "Lake Ladoga must definitely stay alive!" -- that is the demand that one hears from the large number of letters to the editor, including collective letters.

The bureau of the CPSU Leningrad Obkom, after discussing the item published in the newspaper, deemed the alarm to be justified. An extensive plan of actions for intensifying the protection of the Lake Ladoga drainage area from pollution was approved. The officials who were guilty of violating the environmental-protection legislation were brought to party responsibility. It was recommended to the institutions that had been called upon to monitor the ecological situation that they make that monitoring more rigid and apply in full measure the sanctions against the enterprises and organizations that pollute the environment.

That was stated with the maximum clarity, but by no means all the guilty individuals are within the administrative reach of the local party and soviet agencies. Against a background of a broad public response, the departmental reaction looks much more modest. Only RSFSR Minrechflot (Ministry of the River Fleet) and the Lesogorsk Synthetic Fibers Plant reported their intentions to the newspapers. The other departments preferred not to notice the criticism. USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry also remained silent.

The silence, it has turned out, did not mean agreement with the criticism. As subsequent events attest, that silence was used as a screen behind which the forces were being concentrated and the strategy and tactics were being worked out in order to overcome the resistance put up by the specialists and social scientists, and to get back onto the customary well-trodden path.

The stopping of the enterprise in a small city, in addition to forming a breach in the branch's economy, also gave rise, of course, to purely human

problems. Some people had to change their occupation. Others lost wages. The ispolkom of the city soviet, incidentally, tried to find a job for every worker who was unable to find one at the respecialized enterprise. It enlisted the assurances of Minlesbumprom that the planned social program would be retained in entirety.

Nevertheless, as a result of the major change in the way of life that had been established, definite costs proved to be inevitable and explainable. And it would seem that that is what the enterprise managers decided to play upon. The interests of thousands of inhabitants of Priozersk and the many millions of inhabitants of Leningrad did not coincide in this instance ideally with the interests of a few hundred people at the plants. They sent the editorial office an angry letter protesting the enforced sanctions issued by the sanitation physicians. That letter bore 450 signatures. One of them was the signature of deputy director V. Khaknayev.

At a meeting in Priozersk, he, like plant director A. Barkalov, stubbornly stood his ground: the enterprise's idle time was causing great losses to the government. The opinion of the sanitation physicians was tendentious. It would be a good idea for "competent agencies" to discuss the situation with them...

Not a single one of the persons we spoke to accepted even the slightest share of blame for what had occurred. On the contrary, acting as zealots in favor of the strengthening of the economy and as champions of the social blessings for the plant workers, they went into the attack under cover of the authority enjoyed by high-rank administrators.

"The environmental-protection measures are being carried out strictly according to schedule!" A. Barkalov said, playing his trump card. "It was approved at a high level in five ministries."

And that is actually so. But the mechanics of preparing that schedule lead one to definite reflections. Everything would seem to have been done correctly, but at the same time in a topsy-turvy manner.

After the plant had been shut down, an instruction followed: urgently recommend the first-priority measures to reduce the polluting of Lake Ladoga. Three days later they were coordinated with the ministers of Minlesbumprom (M. Busygin), Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Water Resources] (N. Vasilyev), and Minsevozapstroy [Ministry of Northwest Construction] (V. Resnetilov), chairman of Goskumgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control] Yu. Izrael, and chief state sanitation physician G. Khlyabich. The first item designated in the schedule was the construction of a new collector for disposal of the plant's industrial runoff, bypassing the ruined Lake Brozdovo, into Lake Ladoga even farther away -- into Shchuchiy Bay. The Leningrad Giprobum Institute submitted the technical documentation... but not until two months later. The specialists at the oblast sanitation and epidemiology station took one look at it and grabbed their heads: the building of a new collector 6 kilometers long at a cost of approximately 2 million rubles would be absolutely useless! Because it still was only a long pipe to pump the same unpurified runoff somewhere else.

The construction site began to hum. Scarce pipes a meter in diameter were located no one knows where. A contractor was located. Equipment was delivered from the Baltic republics. No money was spared in paying for the machine-operators' and welders' labor on the basis of the entire job...

But not all the local workers who were capable of preventing this useless undertaking had sufficient bravery to do this. The signatures of the highly placed individuals on the document hypnotized them. Even the ispolkom of the Leningrad Oblast soviet of people's deputies blundered. It failed to use its power, it failed to ban the immoral squandering until the final decision.

Something else that was now thrown onto the scales to supplement the departmental interests was demagoguery. The load now, to state it bluntly, is considerable, especially in those instances when it is skillfully proffered in the attractive wrapping of fashionable words "openness," "democracy," and "the rights of the labor collective."

At the Priozersk Woodpulp Plant these concepts, one must admit, have been exploited in excess of the norm. For example, worker meetings were conducted in the shops. The plant managers gave reports there. It is noteworthy that in absolutely all the instances the meeting decisions were formulated as though they were written on carbon paper.

Just take the risk now, you defenders of nature, of going against the will of the labor collective!

Satisfied, A. Barkalov, with a bundle of minutes from the meetings, took off for Moscow. He traveled in the same compartment with A. Brezhnev, secretary of the Priozersk City CPSU gorkom. The two Communist Party members drank tea together, and argued together. It was apparently their common misfortune and their common concern that were leading them to Minlesbumprom. One did not hide the arguments he would make in the forthcoming polemics. The other, at the same time, did not refrain from telling his compartment companion about meetings that had been held. He waited for the proper moment and then he threw the bundle of minutes onto the minister's desk, saying, "It's not me who wants the plant to start up again, but the people themselves!"

Those are a few of the actions taken in the struggle to preserve Lake Ladoga at only its "hottest" place today. The fight at the last ditch, which cannot be crossed without major environmental-protection measures, is continuing. That fight has revealed the measure of the civic maturity of most people and, conversely, the lack of discrimination of others in choosing their means when defending vulnerable positions, their stubborn lack of desire to understand the danger. And that danger, unfortunately, is large.

Let us disregard the allegedly prejudiced opinion of the Leningrad specialists. I would like to quote the findings of the scientists at the capital's NII [scientific-research institute] of General and Municipal Hygiene named A. N. Sytin. On an assignment from USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], they studied water samples taken from the Priozersk water main and from Shchuchiy Bay.

"It has been established," the final report of that research states, "that Shchuchiy Bay has been excessively polluted by a series of various chemical compounds. The maximum admissible concentrations for 13 of them have been exceeded by a factor of from 2 to 750. A number of compounds in the drinking water are highly toxic or are carcinogenic. The water from the Priozersk water main represents danger to the health of the population."

Have the plant administrators brought the facts and figures that were cited in the official report to the attention of the worker collective?

All that remains is to add the following to what has been said. In the letter from the Leningrad specialists which was printed by the newspaper in November, in addition to the Priozersk Woodpulp Plant, mention was made of dozens of other enterprises that are polluting Lake Ladoga. Each of them is also a "sore spot" on its body -- the disdain for ecology has become an everyday phenomenon. The situation is being changed for the better unhurriedly. But more frequently there are no such changes at all. And so today, Minlesbumprom enterprises alone dump polluted runoff into Lake Ladoga at a rate that is 128 (one hundred and twenty eight!) times greater than the runoff that goes into Lake Baykal, for the purity of whose water we are all collectively fighting.

"I had the honor, during the blockade years, to defend the legendary 'road of life' as an antiaircraft artillery gunner," retired Colonel V. Solod writes. "Even during those days the soldiers and commanders were worried about the purity of the water in Lake Ladoga, and any slob who dumped used motor into the lake or tried to wash his vehicle in it was subjected not only to moral censure, but also disciplinary punishment, although there were no special orders concerning that. People were guided by a sense of responsibility, by their conscience. So do we have the right now, under the pretext of concern for state interests, to forgive the irresponsible workers who are to blame for having brought the lake to the brink of disaster? We must be as strict as possible in giving them what they deserve!"

Although he did not find any understanding or support in the departmental labyrinths, V. Stepanko has found them in these letters. (Incidentally, PRAVDA has received more than a hundred of them, and the editorial office expresses its sincere gratitude to the readers who responded to Ladoga's plight.) The chairman of the city soviet left in a decisive mood to go to Priozersk. The detachment of people sharing his views is growing. And they are ready, without making any concessions, to fight to save the lake alongside of everyone who is alarmed by Lake Ladoga's present and future.

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ACADEMICIANS' LETTER LAUDS DECISION ON BAYKAL PROTECTION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 87 p 1

["Letter to PRAVDA" by B. Laskorin, I. Petgryanov-Sokolov, Yu. Izrael, B. Sokolov, V. Sokolov, A. Treshnikov, and A. Yanshin, members of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Lake Baykal Will Be Clean!"]

[Text] It was with tremendous satisfaction that we looked at the report that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a decree to take major steps to protect the Lake Baykal drainage area against pollution, to respecialize the Baykal Woodpulp and Paper Combine, and to develop vacation and tourism centers on the lake shores. That decree to protect the natural wealth of Lake Baykal, for which a great deal of work was performed by party workers, figures in Soviet science, specialists in the national economy, culture, and literature, and workers, is a brilliant manifestation of the positive results of restructuring in our society on the basis of democratization and openness. The Soviet press and literature have actively promoted correct formation of public opinion and acceleration decisions that are important for the government, the nation, and its future generations.

While expressing our sense of gratitude and appreciation for the decree on Lake Baykal that has been adopted, we assure our government and the CPSU Central Committee that we are ready to make our own contribution to developing the national economy while preserving the vital qualities of nature and to transmit our experience in this noble cause to other countries.

In order to extend the protection of Lake Baykal, it is necessary to do much more. And we scientists are in debt to Lake Baykal. One of the most important tasks confronting science is the development and introduction of effective methods of removing the sulfur from the smoke exhaust gases at enterprises, as these gases are exerting a harmful effect on the lake.

The decree on Lake Baykal inspires faith in the future, represents the completely logical victory of progress, and is a censuring of the actions of those technocrats who senselessly decided the question of building a woodpulp combine on Lake Baykal, and then stubbornly defended their erroneous positions.

We sincerely hope that our sacred Lake Baykal will be a fundamental international base for conferences and forums in the fight for the cleanliness of the natural environment and in the fight for peace.

## TuSSR: FAMOUS NATURAL SPRING DRYING UP

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 21 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word letter to the editor signed by T. Ryzayev, chairman of the Council of Elders at the Kirov kolkhoz in Bakherden Rayon, headlined "Why Is There Less Archman Water?" He points out that "we of the older generation know well that 150 liters of Archman water flow per second and that it heals a thousand and one complaints. At the same time it irrigates cotton, grain, and vegetables on two kolkhozes where good yields have been attained. The well also supplies a well-known health spa." He adds that "water from the Archman well is diminishing from year to year, and this compels us to ask why." He explains one cause of the problem by noting that the Archman water does not flow through pipes but through a channel, the bottom and side of which have not been cemented; thus, there is a loss. He adds, however, that "a scientific answer to the question is a matter for scholars."

## DESERT ECOSYSTEM UPSET BY KARAKUM CANAL

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 4 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 300-word note by S.A. Atayeva, S.B. Bayramov, K.P. Popov, E.L. Ryabikin, and O.R. Sabirova, all of the Deserts Institute of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "Problems of the Karakum Canal." Discussing changes in the desert's ecosystem as a result of the construction of the Karakum Canal, they stress that "man's intervention in the nature of deserts is connected with a basic change in the equilibrium of the landscape. Great amounts of sandy soil removed from the canal are leveling out high- and lowlying lands and burying the plants in these places." They recommend that efforts should be made to plant trees in the canal zone to expedite the region's recovery.

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M.J.